Daily Report

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FBIS-SOV-91-223 *19 November 1991*

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NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

NOTICE TO READERS: The United States Government recognizes the independence of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

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Arms Control & Disarmament

Central Control of Nuclear Weapons Discussed

LD1711212591 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 17 Nov

[Interview with Lieutenant General Dimidyuk, commander in chief of the Ground Forces Rocket and Artillery Troops, by unidentified correspondent, place and date not given; from the "TV Inform" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Dimidyuk] We are proud of our type of troops, and we still traditionally meet the holiday on a high note, although you must understand that there are many questions which are yet to be resolved today.

[Correspondent] Missile weapons are situated in Russia, the Ukraine, Belorussia, and Kazakhstan. Some sort of Army property privatization, so to speak, is currently under way in Georgia. What is your attitude toward this situation?

[Dimidyuk] Wherever our missiles are, our firm position is that they should remain under centralized control. I do not think that anybody should lay claim to missile weapons. This is, in my view, impermissible.

[Correspondent] Do you also agree that this should have some kind of sole control?

[Dimidyuk] On the whole, yes. On the whole, yes.

[Correspondent] There is a proverb saying that anything can happen, and even a log of wood can go off as a gun once in a blue moon. Is it possible that such a log of wood could go off somewhere in the republics that currently possess nuclear weapons?

[Dimidyuk] You know, this is absolutely impossible. Nuclear weapons are in safe hands. They are guarded, and no unauthorized action can take place regarding nuclear weapons, as the technical and organizational conditions for their protection are arranged in such a way that nobody can resolve these issues without the center and experts.

Quality of Nuclear Arms Debate Questioned

PM1411160591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Nov 91 First Edition p 2

[G. Khromov "Rejoinder": "No Need To Scare Us"]

[Text] On 19 October this year former USSR Foreign Minister Bessmertnykh and "political scientist" Olshevskiy gave a television interview about the reliability of our nuclear weapons. This was done with the utmost lack of professionalism, and many viewers who still trust ministers (even if they are former ministers) got the impression that there is a very high probability of a nuclear apocalypse's occurring very soon.

And here is another example. Recently one of our lofty leaders, when listing the republics where strategic nuclear weapons are located (and this is known from the Soviet-U.S. Strategic Offensive Arms Reduction and Limitation Treaty), forgot to name one of them. What are we to think about the republic which has been "forgotten?!" The answer is natural enough: The republic is not trusted and without its agreement is being deprived of the "nuclear umbrella," while the nuclear weapons which are now located on its territory are being moved somewhere else!

What is the upshot? That pronouncements by professional military personnel and engineers on nuclear weapons are currently drowning in a sea of incompetent publications in the Soviet and foreign mass media by third-rate homegrown specialists. It has reached a point where public pronouncements have been made containing fantastic and provocative suppositions about the possibility of an interrepublic exchange of nuclear missile strikes.

Maybe that's enough of scaring each other? Maybe it is time to deny dilettantes and people with sick imaginations the opportunity of publishing items on very delicate and important questions?

It is time for reason to triumph.

Canadian Concern Over Nuclear Sales Cited

924P0031A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 12 Nov 91 p 3

[Report by TASS correspondent V. Vasilets: "Canadian Experts Are Worried"]

[Text] Ottawa, 11 November—"There is increasing evidence that some representatives of the Soviet nuclear complex are contacting private companies for the sale of their products overseas," Tarik Rauf [name as transliterated], an expert at the Canadian Center for Arms Control and Disarmament, declared in the newspaper GLOBE AND MAIL.

Encountering cuts in government appropriations, the Soviet nuclear complex is seeking new ways to finance its research and production, writes T. Rauf, who visited the Soviet Union in October. The danger of such events cannot be underestimated under the conditions of the disintegration of the Soviet state, the expert emphasizes. For this reason Canada should adopt the appropriate measures. It should seek from Soviet and Russian officials additional information on this subject, officially inform the USSR Foreign Ministry and the Russian Foreign Ministry of its concern and offer assistance in the development of legislation on control of exports. Canada should also make economic cooperation with Russia and the other republics dependent on their adoption of the appropriate export-control legislation and guarantees on this score, T. Rauf observes.

Worldwide Issues

G-7 Talks Concentrate on Union Foreign Debt

Silayev Interviewed on Talks

OW151120289l Moscow INTERFAX in English 1759 GMT 15 Nov 91

["Exclusive" interview with Ivan Silayev, chairman of the Interstate Economic Committee, with INTERFAX correspondent Yevgeniy Terekhov; place and date not given; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Chairman of the Interstate Economic Committee (IEC) Ivan Silayev, his position confirmed on Thursday [14 November] at a meeting of the State Council, expressed confidence that political legalization of the Union is favorable after economic argreements are realized. As is known, at the State Council meeting an agreement was reached in relation to the signing of the Union treaty. In an exclusive interview with INTERFAX correspondent Yevgeniy Terekhov, Silayev remarked that the "new status of the Union will seriously strengthen our position" in the forthcoming talks next week with the representatives of the "Big Seven."

Presently our political and economic instability are entirely threatening to our Western partners, Sialyev said. "They, naturally, are concerned about how well we are able to manage ourselves and how reliable we are." Silayev emphasized that the arrival of the finance ministers from the "Big Seven" is a very serious stage. "And if they once again discover here the same instability as before, then we ourselves have constructed the barrier which must be overcome in order to receive deliveries of food."

Representatives of the Group of Seven have requested that the talks be conducted with Silayev and the heads of state. In discussing the reasons for picking Silayev as their chairman with the status of prime minister, unanimously chosen by the heads of the republics' governments, Silayev noted that when high-level talks are taking place, certain leaders should be included. "Talks with a committee or with a prime minister have entirely different weights. A committee remains after all, no matter how many functions it may have, only one of many committees, but a prime minister—that is a real leader of the government." He remarked that in his former role he had substantial power, however the new status gives him added security.

Ivan Silayev also stated in the interview after the meeting of the Committee on Operative Management of the Economy, that in conjunction with a message from the State Council, a meeting has been arranged with the heads of the republics for November 18th to discuss the budget in the fourth quarter. He also said that "we have recommended postponing the liquidation of the Ministry of Finances until the end of the year," without which there would be no suitable mechanisms for the financial management of the country. In addition to this, "we need to set a specific time to realize budget activities for the year." Besides this, at a meeting of the heads of government it was suggested that the nominations to positions in the Interstate Economic Committee be confirmed by the republics.

Mr Silayev said that he had not heard anything about Grigoriy Yavlinskiy's possible resignation. "Yavlinskiy has requested that he not be given any particular post in the structure of the IEC until he fulfills all present obligations which concern the preparation of the agreement on an economic treaty."

Silayev stated that Yavlinskiy yesterday asked Gorbachev for permission to take a vacation. This is entirely understandable, if one takes into account that Grigoriy Yavlinskiy has been working without vacation for the past five years.

Meets Baltic Representatives

LD1611193791 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1450 GMT 16 Nov 91

[Report by Valeriy Kiosa on a meeting between Ivan Silayev, chairman of the Interstate Economic Committee and prime minister of the community, and Lithuanian Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius; Andris Gutmanis, plenipotentiary representative of the chairman of the Latvian Council of Ministers; and Mehis Pilv, general director of the Estonian Department for External Economic Relations, in Moscow on 16 November; from the "Panorama" program]

[Text] The talks continued behind closed doors for almost one and a half hours. After they had ended, Igor Gavrilov, deputy chairman of the Interstate Economic Committee, and Lithuanian Prime Minister Vagnorius, answered journalists' questions. All the participants stressed that this was a working, consultative meeting. According to Vagnorius, they discussed future relations between the Baltic countries and the Union of Sovereign States, particularly the problem of the payment of Soviet Union's foreign debt. I remind you that this very question will be examined at the talks between the heads of government of the sovereign republics and representatives of the seven leading Western countries, which are due to take place at the beginning of next week. Lithuania's prime minister said that it was, nevertheless, too early to speak of the results of today's meeting, but noted at the same time that he understands the problem of the USSR's foreign debt.

For his part, Igor Gavrilov reported that an accord has been reached on participation by representatives of the Baltic states, of at least deputy foreign minister rank, as observers in the meeting with the Big Seven on 18 November. No representatives of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia took part in the first such meeting, which took place in late October. Asked why the Estonian and Latvian prime ministers were absent today, Gavrilov said that Estonian Prime Minister Savisaar is not in the country, and the absence of his Latvian colleague is connected with changes in the structure of the Latvian Government. However, Gavrilov stressed, none of them objects to participation in the talks with the Big Seven.

Estonian Official Comments

LD1811221891 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1800 GMT 16 Nov 91

[Excerpts] We will begin with Moscow, where a meeting took place today between Ivan Silayev, chairman of the Interstate Economic Committee, and representatives of the governments of the Baltic states. Mehis Pilv, director general of the foreign economic department, was present on behalf of Estonia. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Reporter Jaan Raudsepp] After the first round ended, Igor Gavrilov, deputy chairman of the committee said that representatives of the Baltic states had not refused to be party to this meeting with the seven. What is your position?

[Pilv] Yes, this is indeed so. The question is that with all these problems which we acknowledge and which are to be resolved between the Soviet Union and Estonia in the sphere of the economy—I mean here the issue of ownership as well as domestic and foreign debt—we indeed recognize that the problem does exist. And we also recognize that we are ready to begin bilateral talks with the USSR in order to resolve the issue. And this position was today once again communicated to Mr Silayev.

[Raudsepp] But what about the foreign debt? How and if at all will we take part in paying it off?

[Pilv] Yes, this will be a separate subject for the talks. At the moment we recognize that the debt as such is a problem that must be resolved. It could be resolved with an accountant's meticulousness; it could be resolved scientifically; it could also be resolved with a political resolution; and this must simply be discussed separately. That is, by today it is no more being said that the problem does not exist.

[Raudsepp] But tell me, please, did the representatives of Latvia and Lithuania, hold the same position?

[Pilv] Broadly speaking one can say that the Lithuanian Government was represented by its prime minister, two ministers, an envoy and an adviser, and they in principle held the same position. The Latvian Government was represented by its deputy representative stationed in Moscow, and he did not have the corresponding authorization. For this reason the Latvian Government promised to make its position known on 18 November. [end recording]

Lithuania, Estonia To Observe Talks

OW1811125991 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1130 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Lithuanian permanent mission in Moscow informed BF [BALTFAX] that Lithuania's charge d'affaires, Mr. Egidijus Bickauskas, would act as an observer at the talks between the leaders of the republics and the Group of Seven's deputy-ministers of finances beginning on November 18 in Moscow. The talks will concentrate on the USSR's foreign debt.

As was reported earlier, preliminary agreement on this had been reached in Moscow on November 16 at a meeting between chairman of the Interstate Economic Committee, Ivan Silayev, and representatives of the Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian Governments.

The Estonian permanent mission in Moscow told BF that on the Estonian part the talks would be attended by director-general of the Department for Foreign Economic Relations, Mr. Mehis Pilv.

The Latvian mission has no information about Latvian representatives' participation in the talks.

First vice-chairman of the Latvian Supreme Council, Mr. Dainis Ivans, told BF that "Latvia refuses to bear any responsibility for the USSR's external debt".

Following Latvia's annexation in 1940, all of its property was appropriated by the Soviet Union, said Mr. Ivans. He also said that the payment of the USSR's foreign debt by Latvia is out of the question". [quotation mark as received]

"It's the Soviet Union that is indebted to Latvia, not vice versa," he stated.

On November 17, the Lithuanian Government circulated a statement which guarantees the payment of the credits once obtained by the Lithuanian economic subjects through the USSR.

The Lithuanian Government also expressed readiness to discuss this problem with both Western states, above all with the Group of Seven, and with the Union of Sovereign States as the USSR's successor.

The statement says that "on the eve of the talks between representatives of the Group of Seven and the Union of Sovereign States the Government of Lithuania profoundly understands the problem of the USSR's foreign debt."

Silayev Previews Meeting

OW1811123491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1115 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Ivan Silayev, head of the Interstate Economic Council (IEC), is meeting in Moscow with the deputy finance ministers of the seven leading western nations.

He told journalists before the meeting's opening that he would inform the G-7 delegation about the fulfillment of the memorandum on the Soviet Union's external debt signed during the previous such meeting of October 28.

Under the memorandum, the prime ministers of the sovereign republics bear collective responsibility for the country's foreign debt and will work out an appropriate mechanism of payments.

The IEC leader said the republican prime ministers would discuss a draft agreement on the matter later on Monday [18 November]. He expressed the hope they would pass it in principle, so that only "technical" issues were left to work on.

In reply to newsmen's questions Mr. Silayev said that the Ukraine had not officially refused to pay its share of the debt. He said he thought that that republic had every reason to comply with the memorandum it had signed less than one month before.

Mr. Silayev observed that "the Baltic states could well get involved in the negotiations vith the G-7," the more so since their representatives were now staying in Moscow.

Silayev Gives Briefing Before Talks

LD1811152191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1400 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] A meeting between Ivan Silayev, chairman of the Interstate Economic Committee, and deputy finance ministers of the seven leading countries of the West began in the Kremlin today. Before the meeting, Silayev told journalists that he intends to report to the G-7 representatives about the work to implement the memorandum of mutual understanding concerning the USSR's external debt, which was signed in Mosow on 28 October, with the participation of the financial representatives of G-7. According to the memorandum, the heads of government of the sovereign republics recognize joint responsibility for the USSR's external debt and decided to work out a mechanism for its repayment. The chairman of the interrepublican economic committee said that the draft agreement to this effect is ready and will be discussed by the prime ministers of the sovereign republics. Silayev expresed the hope that the draft will be approved in principle, and only its technical details will remain to be finalized.

Answering correspondents' questions, Ivan Silayev said that no official statement has been received from the Ukraine, which will indicate that it does not want to repay its part of the externl debt. At least, I do not think that they have reasons to refuse to pay, considering that they signed the memorandum less than a month ago. Concerning the possibility of representatives of the Baltic states participating in the talks, Ivan Silayev said that they are at the moment in Moscow, and it is time for them to take part in such a meeting.

Debt Servicing Discussed

LD1811110991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1010 GMT 18 Nov 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow, 18 Nov (TASS)—A meeting between representatives of the seven most developed states and Ivan Silayev, chairman of the Interstate Economic Committee, has begun in the Kremlin.

This is the second visit to Moscow by deputy finance ministers of the G-7 countries. The visit is aimed at discussing aid for the Soviet Union and also our country's foreign debt problems. At the previous meeting, at the end of October, the Western emissaries signed a "memorandum of mutual understanding concerning the debts to foreign creditors of the USSR and its successors" with representatives of 12 sovereign republics.

A TASS correspondent has learned from informed sources in the USSR Foreign Ministry that the specific topic under discussion at the meeting with Ivan Silayev, and then with representatives of the republics, will be the "debt servicing problem." It is not impossible that the sides will also touch on the question of granting us humanitarian aid.

In a brief conversation with journalists before the meeting, Ivan Silayev noted that many issues concerning the foreign debt will be discussed at the talks with the G-7 representatives. In addition, he pointed out, the representatives of the West want to hear from the center and from the republics about steps being taken to implement the memorandum signed in October. Ivan Silayev reported that discussion of a treaty on the division of assets and liabilities will proceed in parallel with the talks with G-7. He expressed the hope that the leaders of the republics will adopt fundamental decisions on this question as early as this week.

Meeting 'Going Well'

LD1811185191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] The delegations of the 12 sovereign republics began a meeting in Moscow today at the level of heads of government with the deputy finance ministers of the seven leading Western countries on the problem of the USSR foreign debt. Valentin Sergeyev, the press secretary of the Interstate Economic Committee, told journalists that the meeting was going well.

Before that there was a session of the council of heads of government of the republics. In an interview with an INTERFAX correspondent, Murman Umanidze, first deputy prime minister of Georgia, said that it finished in a deadlock. However, two prime ministers rejected this. Sergey Tereshchenko, the head of the Kazakh Government, said that joint responsibility for the USSR foreign debt had been reaffirmed. The clause in the memorandum was signed on 28 October. And Vyacheslav Kebich, the prime minister of Belorussia, added that three more republics—Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Azerbaijan—had gone along with the memorandum.

INTERFAX was told that Boris Yeltsin's proposal on Russia's readiness to assume responsibility for all of the USSR foreign debt was not discussed at the session. Asked to comment on this, Ivan Silayev, chairman of the Interrepublican Economic Committee, said that more work needed to be done on it. At the same time, Gennadiy Burbulis, first deputy chairman of the Russian Government, expressed the hope that the next round of the talks with the Seven would clear up many questions, including the most important one of whether Russia would be able to implement its program of reforms.

The Baltic region is represented in Moscow by observers at the level of advisers to the prime ministers. Kebich, the Belorussian prime minister, reported that it had been decided to invite representatives of the Baltic region to the session of the council of heads of government as equal members in order to discuss all questions connected with the USSR foreign debt. Replying to questions about the position of the Baltic countries, Ivan Silayev said that in his view it had not changed. They were ready to take part in clearing the foreign debt.

Signature Confirmation 'Main Problem'

LD1911094991 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0900 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] The talks between the heads of government of the 12 republics of the former Soviet Union and representatives of the seven leading Western countries are continuing in Moscow today. The main problem at the talks has been the confirmation by all 12 republics of their signatures beneath the memorandum on mutual understanding regarding the USSR's debt. I would remind you that this document makes provision for joint and several responsibility on the part of all republics for the Soviet Union's debts. The Western countries are making the unfailing confirmation of their signatures by all republics of the former Soviet Union an absolute condition of easing the Union's hard currency situation.

At a session of the council of heads of government this morning, Uzbek Vice President Mirsaidov said that the Uzbek parliament expressed opposition to the principle of joint and several responsibility this morning. The leaders of the governments of the Ukraine and Azerbaijan, however, stated their readiness to confirm their signatures on condition that their share of the USSR's assets abroad be determined.

Presently, the council of heads of government is discussing the current situation in the hope of reaching a common understanding. There will then be another round of talks with the G-7 countries.

No Aid Measures Revealed

OW1811204991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2001 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Monday [18 November] Moscow hosted the first round of negotiations between the government heads of the 12 sovereign Soviet republics and G-7 deputy finance ministers on the Soviet foreign debt. IF [INTERFAX] learned that the G-7 officials had not disclosed the substance of their proposals on easing the Soviet Union's foreign exchange crisis, allegedly because not all 12 ex-Soviet republics had signed the memorandum of understanding on the Soviet Union's foreign debt that had been passed by the republican government heads at a previous meeting with the G-7 on October 28.

Vyacheslav Kebich, Belarus [Belorussian] premier, who had earlier declared that three more republics had signed the memorandum, corrected his earlier statement and said that the situation had changed and only Turkmenistan's delegation had signed the memorandum without reservations. Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan declared that they had to consult their republics.

Moldova's premier Valeriy Muravskiy said that if the republics agreed to sign the memorandum, the G-7 representatives would disclose their proposals. If Turkmenia, Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan consent to sign the agreement, said Moldova's premier, the joint responsibility for the Soviet foreign debt will be laid on the 12 ex-Soviet republics, "and we'll define our line on the Baltic countries ourselves."

Head of the West German delegation, State Secretary Horst Kuller, expressed regret during an interview with IF that during the three weeks that have passed since the first meeting with the G-7 ministers the sovereign republics have failed to develop a mechanism for the repayment of the USSR's foreign debt. We would want, said he, the problems with the repayment of debt to unite, not divide, the republics as their satisfactory resolution is a key to trust on part of Western banks. "The West and G-7 would help, but conditions must be set for us to be able to help," he emphasized.

Prior to the negotiations, a council of the republican government heads had met. Head of Kazakhstan's government Sergey Tereshchenko told IF that joint and collective responsibility for the Soviet foreign debt had been confirmed in accordance with the memorandum signed on October 28.

It was told to IF that the sitting did not discuss Mr. Yeltsin's suggestion that Russia is ready to assume responsibility for the entire amount of the Soviet foreign debt. Asked for comments on this suggestion, chairman of the Interstate Economic Committee Ivan Silayev said that "it must be fine tuned."

The Baltics was represented by councillors of prime ministers. Asked about the position of the Baltic countries, Mr. Silayev said that in his opinion, it had changed and they were ready to participate in debt repayment.

UNIDO Helps in Military Industry Conversion

AU1511123991 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 15 Nov 91 p 13

[Erich Hoorn report: "Soviet Military Technology for the West"]

[Text] Vienna—Any attempts so far concerning the conversion (restructuring) of armament companies to civilian products in the USSR have not yet had any profound success. One of the reasons is the fact that restructuring has mostly been ordered by a central body in Moscow. Now the UN Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) in Vienna is trying a new way. Advice is given to the armament companies which allows them to decide themselves how they want to implement conversion. Partners from the West and from the developing countries are also supposed to become involved. This is to be done in an unbureaucratic way. On 19 November a "St. Petersburg Conversion Seminar" will be organized in Vienna by the Austrian Federal Economic Chamber in cooperation with UNIDO.

In an interview with DIE PRESSE, UNIDO expert Mikhail M. Boutousov, who is from the USSR, stresses that the employees of the companies and the research institutes should implement conversion themselves: "95 percent of the work must be done there; we can only motivate and help them."

UNIDO Director Mustafa H.A. Hamdy stressed in an interview with DIE PRESSE that there are many different methods of conversion. In St. Petersburg, an ARCTIS (Agency for Research, Commercialization, and Technical Innovation Support) working group has been established, which comprises nine armament companies and the city administration. More than 50,000 employees work in the participating companies and research institutes. For the first time it is intended to convert an entire complex to civilian products.

The USSR armament sector is working on high technology and the production of new materials, so that interesting opportunities will open up for Western companies: One can buy licenses, invest in the production of the armament companies, which have highly qualified personnel, or get hold of subcontractor contracts. Privatization of armament companies are also planned. In fact, most armament companies have had to produce consumer goods for years in order to overcome the worst supply problems.

Of course, UNIDO always considers how the Third World can be integrated in this process. This conversion process in the USSR cannot be supported financially, however. In Austria, the Neva Working Group [Newa-Arge] has been founded, which, in addition to UNIDO, comprises AWT, Business Creation Europe, CCCE, and Hill International. Those who want to participate in conversion may become members and must pay money into the conversion fund. A partner of the Neva Working Group is ARCTIS in St. Petersburg. According to Hamdy, the armament sector comprises about 40 percent of the Soviet economy in quantitative terms. However, if one proceeds from the premise that the best qualified people work in this area and that technical equipment and technology have the highest standard, this proportion is actually much higher. One must keep in mind that today most facilities in the factories and research institutes of the military-industrial complex are hardly used any more.

Last year UNIDO established contacts with St. Petersburg, now Moscow is also expressing interest; there they have an even bigger military-industrial complex. However, Hamdy has also established contacts with Prague and Bratislava, where they also want help in conversion.

Alfred E. Mayer, director of the Federal Economics Chamber liaison office at UNIDO, stresses that the conversion of the Soviet armament industry offers many opportunities to Austrian companies. At the seminar in Vienna, ARCTIS will for the first time present companies in the West. Subsequently, individual talks with interested Austrians are planned. Hamdy thinks that Austrian companies—in particular small and medium-sized companies—could gain access to decidedly attractive technologies in the USSR.

Academic Views Role in Madrid Conference

PM1811163991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Nov 91 p 5

["Academic's Opinion" article by Doctor of Historical Sciences A. Yegorin: "Near East in the Focus of Madrid. The Aces Have Not Yet Been Played"]

[Text] So, Madrid has taken up the baton of the Near East relay race which started in Geneva in 1973. The Near East "peace express" has moved off from the platform, but its speed is still minimal, primarily because of the huge pile of military-political boulders which, figuratively speaking, lie in front of it on the rails.

The main obstacle is the arms race which just will not come to an end, and which, like a plague, has enveloped the problem-infested region. You might have thought that, after the end of the Kuwaiti crisis, the search for a political solution was acknowledged as the priority by everyone. Far from it. Within just one year as many weapons have been sent to the Persian Gulf zone and the Near East as were shipped there in 1988 and 1990 put together. The "undefeated" (Iraq and its supporters) were also looking for the opportunity to maintain the might of their Armed Forces and increase their mountains of weapons.

During 1991, while the iceberg of the Near East deadlock was sliding slowly into the sea of hopes for a political

settlement, the countries pretending to the role of peacemakers (the United States, the USSR, and West Europe) sent military equipment to the Near East, just as they did during the "cold war" years. One of the paradoxes of the Madrid meeting is that gathering there were the major exporters of arms to the Near East and the most active importers of weapons. Words about settlement were heard, but meanwhile the arms piled up behind each side are ready for battle.

I am profoundly convinced: There will be no peace in the Near East while the parties pin their hopes on force, and while the great patrons divide them into "ours" and "theirs." The world community expected that, at least for the period of the conference, seeing that it was called a "peace" conference, and indeed a multistage conference (i.e. lasting a long time), a moratorium would be declared on arms deliveries to the region and the purchase of the same. But none of the participants of the Madrid dialogue actually ventured to put forward such an initiative. How then do the designers of Near East settlement, without a freeze on the arms race in the region and an agreement to declare the Near East a peace zone, a zone free from nuclear, chemical, bacteriological, and other means of mass destruction, see the whole model of this process?

On the global level M. Gorbachev and G. Bush have taken a number of bold steps to pull the peoples away from the abyss of mistrust. The superpowers are continuing to disarm, gradually decreasing the levels of defensive sufficiency, something welcomed by the whole world. As a result the international climate on our planet really has grown warmer, and this has enabled Washington and Moscow to turn their gazes jointly to regional problems, and above all to the war-torn Near East. The idea of an international conference on the Near East was ours. The United States developed this idea in order to secure peace between Israel and the neighboring countries, apart from Egypt. But, so it seems, the conference begun in Madrid should solve a wider spectrum of problems: questions of the security of all the countries of the region, and their level of defensive sufficiency (for some reason this is the fundamental question in U.S.-USSR talks, but a secondary one in the Israeli-Arab talks), the problem of annexing alien territory and the future of the Arab state of Palestine. Our representatives, like the Americans, discussed these problems with a narrow circle of countries bordering Israel and with Israel itself, not paying attention to the rest of the Arab world.

To listen to all Arabs and not just selected ones is God's will. The prevailing situation in the Near East requires us to decide not for them, but with them. "The United States and the USSR are now partners," the well-known Egyptian current affairs writer M.H. Haykal said in conversation with our group of academics and orientalists. "But neither the United States nor the USSR have the right to interfere in the affairs of the Near East, either together or separately. Arab decisions should be independent and adopted without the interference of emissaries from Washington or Moscow." This point of view is expressed by many other "prominent Arabs" whom this writer met in Tunis and Rabat, Amman and Damascus, Sanaa, Cairo, and Baghdad.

At the same time a circumstance not without importance should put us on our guard: Before Madrid we saw neither an Arab "summit," nor activity on the part of the League of Arab States or the structures of the Arab groupings that function in North Africa and east of the Nile. Either the Arabs are saving their "trump cards," or they are not hoping for a positive outcome to the Madrid Summit. But who is most interested in results: the USSR, the United States, Europe, Israel, or the Arabs?

Public opinion might facilitate a successful settlement. The mass media has flooded the world with reports about all manner of official meetings and the progress of the Madrid conference itself. But little—very little—is being written about what people outside the offices and halls of the sessions think of this. Europe is keeping silent, Israel's public organizations monitoring the government's political zigzagging are not especially communicative, and indeed, even the Arabs are not very active, possibly bewildered at the stormy U.S activity in the region. And this is at the time when it is simply essential to support the peace process both politically and morally.

Soviet academics have several times have said that the opinions and possibilities of social and any other nongovernmental structures cannot be discounted. It was the intervention of public opinion, its active role and energetic activity, which led to positive results when the "Helsinki Formula" was being worked out. Why not use now all the positive experience of the Helsinki accords on the "Near East Madrid Express", taking account of local conditions, of course. Possibly there is now a pressing need for an initiative group to be set up in the USSR in conjunction with interested foreign social organizations to prepare a regional Near East antiwar conference with the aim of elaborating a social formula for Near East peace and of setting up the corresponding structures to implement it.

Finally, the security system in the Near East, which is in effect nonexistent, is causing concern. It had been assumed that after the end of the war for Kuwait the structures aimed at ensuring peace in the Gulf zone would extend their field of activity to the whole Near East. Where are these structures? So far the principle "force versus force" has operated. Egypt has 2,425 tanks and 517 planes, Israel 3,794 tanks and 574 planes, and Syria 4,050 tanks and 499 planes.

Politicians hold sessions, the military shoot, academics search for formulas, while ordinary people suffer. Not only in Israel and in the Israeli-occupied territories, but also in the Arab countries. They are tired of the life in the frontline to which they have been doomed from as far

back as the end of World War II. They are demanding from politicians and social figures, from academics, the military, and all the rest on whom the solution of the Near East crisis depends just one thing—peace.

International Observers Discuss Foreign Policy

LD1811024991 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1330 GMT 17 Nov 91

["International Observers Roundtable" program with Vladimir Konstantinovich Pasko, All-Union Radio foreign political commentator; Vsevolod Ivanovich Sovva, deputy head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate; and Yuriy Konstantinovich Tyssovskiy, TASS political observer]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Sovva] Participants in this "Roundtable" program, and indeed many of our listeners, were for many years brought up on the idea of confrontation between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. But it is always instructive to look back into history. It may be apposite to say today that, at the time NATO was set up, the Soviet Union put forward the idea of joining NATO, even at that time. Now, clearly, this might have been motivated by different considerations from those of today, but the suggestion of joining NATO was indeed tabled as a serious one at the time. And so I can see a direct line between that proposal made in 1949 and, let's say, the statement that has come from the Russian Foreign Ministry in the last few days, following the meeting in Rome. It says that Russia welcomes the proposal for the creation of a North-Atlantic cooperation council and declares readiness to play a direct part in the work of this new body. I bring this to your attention for just one purpose—that continuity in our foreign policy is not an empty phrase. [passage omitted]

[Pasko] It seems to me that the Afghan opposition has now decided to make use of the processes currently taking place in our country in its own interests. But I should like to defer here to esteemed Yuriy Konstantinovich, as an experienced Afghan expert and as a man who has been directly involved in reporting this visit.

[Tyssovskiy] Vladimor Georgiyevich, I should say at once that I became an Afghan expert willy-nilly, so to speak, though I spent some five years in that country in all. So what can be said about the current visit? I am absolutely in agreement. It is taking place solely because the mujahidin representatives have decided, if one can put it so bluntly, to capitalize for their own benefit on the situation in our country now. A certain trend exists in our Central Asian republics—for the moment it is only taking shape—but it is quite evident that in the time to come—over the next two, three, or five years, I would say—certain changes will occur there in the direction of greater fusing of politics with Islam. As I see it, this is a process which is inevitable. There had been glimpses of it previously but for a whole series of reasons it had not been able to develop. Now the fetters have been removed and the situation now looks clear to me. I have absolutely no intention of talking of a threat from fundamentalist Islam. Nevertheless, the opinions of the republics now have to be taken into account by the USSR Foreign Ministry. To some extent it was this that the mujahidin were counting on for some sympathy for their cause when they came to Moscow. [passage omitted]

[Sovva] When one side reaches agreement with another, legal substantiation should be sufficient here. And you see, I personally do not see such substantiation in Rabbani because, well, let's say, the entire Seven are not represented, in the first place. In the second, the Hekmatyar—whether we like it or not—came out quite clearly against that. In the journalistic field, I assess highly the action by KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in being the only one to send a correspondent and this was our only correspondent to have an interview with the Hekmatyar in which it expounded its position to us for the first time in a diplomatic and clear language. Therefore, if we are seeking a consensus—and that word is popular now, a very correct word—then I think that the consensus in Afghanistan consists in the fact that all these forces should assemble in national unity, and that must be done regardless of the blood which has been shed, and I can say here that I personally know—well, let's say, that was two years ago, 180 relatives of the Hekmatyar died in an unequal battle, as the saying goes. That also must be taken into account and there are many other factors which come into play here. Incidentally, speaking of the international factor, it is a quite real presence here—in Saudi Arabia. With aid being stopped by the two superpowers, Saudi Arabia remains a source of nourishment. Up until recently, that country gave $300 million, incidentally, it was namely from there that Rabbani flew to us, leaving that prisoner whom his father is awaiting, who will return with the delegation. Therefore, when speaking about Afghanistan, about the situation inside the country and around it, we should take account of all these factors and it seems to me that during the past visit, Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze played a major role, the man who signed the well-known Geneva Accords, and his conversation in the capacity of leader of the foreign policy association made such a collective contribution because a great deal in Afghanistan is laid out on shelves. It is a very great task to gather all these shelves together, and our country is doing so now and that is also necessary.

[Tyssovskiy] Despite the seeming impossibility of reaching agreement on these elements which I have been speaking about, I nevertheless get the impression that certain progress has been attained at these talks. The very fact that we have begun to hold a conversation, so to speak, is already giving a boost to continuing contacts in the future. After all, the question is not, let's say, whether the Hekmatyar should release our POWs or not. Both it and the other Wahhabis pro-Saudi organization, Sayaf, stated that any agreements reached in Moscow on the question of POWs do not apply to them. They do not intend to release Soviet people. So the question is purely

humanitarian but sometimes it rests upon political questions. This is concretely obvious in this specific case. But nevertheless, I think that it is not difficult for us to persuade the mujahidin that we cannot remove Najibollah, that we cannot stop lending humanitarian aid to Afghanistan.

[Pasko] Sever all the treaties which...

[Tyssovskiy, interrupting] We have embarked upon the path of ensuring negative symmetry is obtained with the United States. That is to say—renouncing deliveries of arms to one's clients. That is great progress, although it was not accompanied by a cease-fire, but it nevertheless will have, in any event, in the future, a very positive influence. What sort of influence will that factor have? I was speaking literally a few days ago, I won't name any names, to a Pakistani representative to Moscow. He said to me outright that our border between Afghanistan—I like that expression a lot—is porous, that is to say, everything runs through it, you see, including weapons. We are not capable of controlling that border, he said. It never could be controlled, throughout our entire history. Therefore, a certain quantity of weapons will infiltrate Afghanistan from our country in any event. But we do not intend to do that, he stressed, through, so to speak, official channels. That's to say, it was even semi-admission that Pakistan, nevertheless, was engaged in that. No, of course, it is the mujahidin who are engaged in that but Pakistan made such weapons available to them.

[Sovva] I recently spoke to an Afghan, well the conversation was respectful on both sides. Two points are worthy of attention. The first is that the recommendation was put forward in a very friendly way—nevertheless, our country should depart from viewing the problem of Afghanistan through the prism of the 40th Army, not denying all the positive [words indistinct].

[Tyssovskiy] Perhaps we should explain. Perhaps our listeners have forgotten that the 40th Army is that limited contingent of Soviet troops which were in Afghanistan.

[Sovva] Yes, why? Because that, of course, is the most important and crucial period. But life lasts not just 10 years, 100 years, life is much weightier, even in quantitative terms, in terms of centuries. That's the first thing. The second thing, so to speak, is the possibility of returning to the origins even, speaking of the fact that the agreements should be fulfilled, our Afghan partner said, "that's no problem." Why? Because Russia's first foreign agreement was concluded precisely with Afghanistan. And if you look at the treaty which is in force, the Russian Federation does not have any problems concerning the future with Afghanistan if one goes back to that February day in 1921.

[Pasko] In conclusion, I would like to note this. Our aims regarding Afghanistan, and as far as the present visit by the Afghan mujahidin is concerned, essentially remain unchanged. And, for instance, Pankin expressed very clearly the aims of our country at these talks: to get the opposing sides to sit down at the negotiations' table and to begin the peace process. It is of course difficult to say whether it will be successful. The possibilities of the Soviet Union, just as those of the United States, are very limited here because the Afhgans themselves should decide their internal affairs. We cannot force the Afghans to start talks. We can only urge them onto that.

[Tyssovskiy] I would like to draw attention to the following; many abroad, and in the Soviet press, also—take the recent articles in the newspaper IZVESTIYA—accuse Soviet diplomacy of striving to support Najibollah in order to perserve its own interests. We do not intend to support Najibollah as a politician. We intend to support the right of the party he heads to take part in political life, at the same level which other parties of that country will be able to in the future. That is to say, I mean, that the parties which have gathered around the negotations' table should decide what the coalition government will be like. That government should hold free democratic elections in Afghanistan and then it will already become clear "who's who?" or "who is who?" That is to say the question of power in Afghanistan will be decided and we will accept that power, no matter what its hue—be it green, pink, or white. [passage omitted]

Coverage of Revolution Greetings Reported

PM1911123191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Nov 91 p 2

[Viktor Khatuntsev article under the "With an Ironic Pen" rubric: "Thank You, Your Majesty!"]

[Text] It seems to me that the West is moving to the right. I think the East is continuing to hone its fundamentalism—to no avail. No state can waive the traditions and rules of good form in foreign policy.

Judge for yourselves: On the eve of the October Revolution anniversary our authorities repeatedly declared that we have nothing to celebrate and nothing with which to do so. And, in general, the noble, romantic storming of the Bastille should not be compared with the crude taking of the Winter Palace.

Previously, even during the most risky "cold war" times, the USSR leadership invariably received congratulatory messages from the leaders of other countries. Even though the other side stubbornly ignored our glorious May Day for some reason, just as, incidentally, we took no notice of their splendid Christmas festivals, they nevertheless piously observed October. For it is, indeed, the official state holiday! Like 4 July in the United States, like 14 July in France.... Even though for long years we were made to profess from afar a class hatred for all sorts of kings, emperors, and princes, still a lingering sense of belonging to the world community

took comfort in the fact that they were congratulating us, just as, incidentally, our leaders congratulated their peoples.

But this fall there was hardly any hope left. The ecstasy of renouncing our past had reached almost an official level in our country and, moreover, opponents in the person of Communists were somehow no longer to be seen. In general then, down with the festival! And no one gave a thought to the ticklish situation in which the head of state would find himself if, according to the good old tradition, some foreign colleague should suddenly take it upon himself to send congratulations. What, after all, does Bush or Mitterrand care about the opinion of people's fronts, movements, and local authorities? Protocol does not like to be thwarted.

Just as the October days were approaching, we attempted to ascertain from the USSR presidential apparatus whether there were any congratulations from heads of state and government. We failed to learn anything intelligible. Does this mean there were no congratulations? It was only from GLASNOST No. 46 that Soviet readers learned that both M. Gorbachev and I. Silayev received congratulatory telegrams from leaders of dozens of countries. But why were they "kept secret?" And why do journalists have to winkle the information out of the Foreign Ministry, rather than having the ministry or TASS inform the press? Who feels awkward about publishing this fact? For we are talking not of private confidential messages but official telegrams. What if the queen of Britain is offended because her message has not been brought to the attention of USSR citizens? Will ambassadors be changed again?

When smashing our entire past, present, and future on our way to democracy and progress and seeking to join as quickly as possible the united all-European family, we should remember that nothing is so valued by the democracies of the West as sensible, sober, balanced conservatism. Of course, they are not a model for us in this matter. At some time they destroyed the Bastille, while we preserved the Winter Palace. And yet we should remember Western and Eastern traditionalism.

A big thank-you to you, queen, for remembering us! There is no one to thank in our own realm [derzhava]....

United States & Canada

U.S. Vietnam POW Reportedly in Kazakhstan

92UF0222A Moscow KOMMERSANT in Russian No 42, 4 Nov 91 p 2

[Article by Yuriy Pankov: "Americans Held Captive in Russia: But Mother America Is Not Likely To Find Them..."]

[Text] **On 29 October in the U.S. Senate, hearings began on the question of military servicemen considered to be missing in action in Vietnam, but, as eyewitnesses testify, they have been transferred to the USSR. In the opinion of observers, we are faced with a scandal of a level comparable to that of the Wallenberg scandal.**

The war in Vietnam lasted from 1961 to 1975. In the combat actions the United States, which committed more than 500,000 military servicemen, was on the side of South Vietnam, which was subjected to aggression from the communist North. U.S. losses amounted to about 50,000, of which 2,354 were missing in action (MIA). The USSR unofficially participated in the Vietnam war by supporting the North.

The scandal broke out on 17 October when THE LOS ANGELES TIMES magazine published a confession from KGB Major General Kalugin to an American journalist to the effect that an acquaintance of his had personally interrogated Americans in Vietnam. And on 29 October Senator Kerry presented to those assembled at the Senate hearing a direct confirmation of Kalugin's words—a declassified CIA report (There is a copy in the KOMMERSANT editorial offices). It says in the report: "A preliminary investigation and questioning of the population in Vinh Pu Province where the American pilots were captured show that there were Soviet and Chinese military in this location... Interrogations were conducted at the Lam Tao superphosphate plant... Soviet representatives were there during 1963-1967..."

Aleksandr Karbainov, chief of the Center for Public Liaison of the Interrepublic Security Service, told a KOMMERSANT correspondent that he could not help straighten out the story of the MIA's. But they managed to find out from an informer from the former KGB (who served in Vietnam during the sixties): Prisoners, particularly scientific and technical intelligence personnel, were sought in order to obtain information about American aviation equipment. The interrogations were conducted not only in Vietnam but also in Laos.

As another participant in the Vietnam events, Pavel Ponomarev, told the KOMMERSANT correspondent, in 1962 he personally, as a navigator in a transport aircraft, transported American captives out of South Vietnam, and the "deportation" was supervised by a KGB worker whose name Ponomarev did not give. But in the words of several other Soviet international soldiers, attempts were made to deliver ill captives by sea from the port of Haiphong to Vladivostok. One of these attempts ended with five Americans dying of fever.

The subsequent fate of the Americans sent to the USSR, like the overall number of them, is not known. According to information published in the American press, at their July meeting Bush asked Gorbachev to look into the MIA question. But, in the opinion of experts, it is too soon to expect any results. Particularly because certain MIA's who ended up in the USSR could possibly have been won over and are happily working abroad in the interests of their second homeland.

A personal investigation by the KOMMERSANT correspondent supposedly made it possible to identify one

such MIA, who was sent to Alma-Ata in 1967 and from there to Saryshagansk. His name (the editors know it) is not given in response to a request by the KOMMERSANT informers, since they work with the former captive. He served as a copilot in the American Air Force and was shot down over Vietnam on 19 May 1967.

As for Kalugin, as was learned from information sources, the Soviet general in an interview with Australian journalists (not published yet) declared his readiness to openly disclose to Washington the information on the MIA's.

U.S. Embassy Seeks Confirmation

PM1811104591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Nov 91 p 4

[TASS report: "Where Is the American Airman?"]

[Text] Washington, 14 Nov—An article published on 4 November in the newspaper KOMMERSANT about American prisoners of war taken from Indochina to the USSR in the sixties has caused quite a stir in the United States. In the course of a briefing at the State Department, its official spokesman Richard Boucher was asked in particular to comment on the report in the article that an airman shot down over Vietnam in May 1967 was taken to the Soviet Union and is now living in the city of Saryshagan.

"Having received this information," Boucher noted, "we instructed our embassy in Moscow last week to send one of its staffers to the region in order to attempt to confirm the report. We also asked the embassy to try to make contact with the Soviet citizen who, as it says in the article, participated in the transportation of American prisoners of war from South Vietnam. At the moment we have no reports on the results of these efforts."

CIA Director on Republic, Center Relations

LD1811225191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2120 GMT 18 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Nikolay Maslov]

[Text] United Nations, 18 Nov (TASS)—The sovereign republics' relations with with the center of the former Soviet Union are for us today a very important question. I think that under the new conditions it is time for the Central Intelligence Agency to stop pontificating about questions of policy, about what the United States thinks and what it should undertake to do on a particular question. Principally, we should inform the President and those who make U.S. foreign policy about events in the USSR and also about the relations between individual republics and the center.

This is what Robert Gates, the new director of the CIA, stated in a conversation with TASS. He was inaugurated as head of this department a week ago. He took part in the New York ceremony awarding the Ukrainian diaspora honorary title of "Ukrainian of the Year" to Deputy Assistant to the U.S. President Roman Popadiuk.

Everytime a great empire collapses, this process is accompanied by a complex evolution, R. Gates continued. In the former Soviet Union this evolution, luckily, is so far taking place peacefully and it is quite obvious that this road of development of relations between the republics and the center is in everyone's interests.

What is happening in the Ukraine serves as a graphic reflection of the historic transformations in the USSR. The August coup put an end to the existence of the former Soviet Union. The democratic forces have been liberated at all levels and this has led to a dramatic transfer of power from the center to the republics. To use the lyrics of a song that was popular during the American Revolution, it can be said that the world has really been turned upside down. But the book of history has not been closed. We have only just gone on to the next chapter.

It seems to me, the CIA director continued, that there is a definite potential for development of cooperation between the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency and the new security services that are being established in the republics on the basis of principles in keeping with the will of the peoples and also of the legitimately elected parliament of the democratic Soviet states.

The U.S. Government, R. Gates said in conclusion, will do everything possible to provide assistance in the transformations that are directed at strengthening democracy in all the republics of the former Soviet Union.

U.S. Cuts Visits by Defense Officials

LD1811101291 Moscow TASS in English 0956 GMT 18 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Pavel Vanichkin]

[Text] Washington November 18 TASS—The U.S. Defence Department has decided to cut visits of its officials to the Soviet Union, the WASHINGTON TIMES newspaper says, citing sources in the Pentagon.

According to the newspaper, the decision was prompted by the Soviet Union's reluctance to transfer high military technology to civilian sectors of the economy.

U.S. First Deputy Secretary of Defence Donald Atwood, after recently visiting military factories and research centres in Russia and the Ukraine with a group of business people, said he came across resistance to large-scale conversion on the part of Soviets.

China

Achievements of Baker's China Visit Noted

OW1911030891 Moscow Radio Moscow in Mandarin 1100 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Popov commentary on Baker's China visit—from the "Current Events and Commentary" program]

[Text] U.S. Secretary of State James Baker has concluded his three-day visit to China. The following is a commentary on the outcome of Baker's China visit, written by Popov, an observer of this station:

Baker's plane left Beijing a few hours later than scheduled. As expected, Baker's talks in the Chinese capital were very tense and they lasted longer than had been scheduled. The purpose of Baker's visit was to discuss the quite acute and delicate problems that recently have become a serious obstacle to Sino-U.S. relations. Among these problems were China's human rights situation, the imbalance in Sino-U.S. trade, China's exports of prisoner-made products to the United States, and China's supplying of missile technology and weapons to other countries. At a news conference after the talks, Baker said: As far as the outcome of the talks on these issues is concerned, I think my visit has been fruitful. China stated that it will observe the principles of the Missile Technology Non-Proliferation Treaty, and the United States will not impose sanctions that it has imposed on [words indistinct] countries. In addition, China reiterated that it will accede to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. China's legislature will decide on the issue by the end of the year. Certain compromises also seemed to have been reached on the sensitive issue of human rights. Baker said that China has promised to issue exit visas to those who have not been involved in criminal cases. Washington also got an explanation on the issue of the 800 political prisoners in Chinese jails. Furthermore, some understanding was reached on preventing the export of Chinese prisoner-made products to the United States.

Apparently, these agreements do no mean that there no longer are any differences between China and the United States. Nevertheless, I think the most important thing is that Baker's visit signifies that the U.S. political blockade against China announced in June 1989 after the Tiananmen incident has ended, and that Baker's constructive dialogue with Chinese leaders has prevailed. I think Baker left Beijing with achievements, (?rebuting) those Washington politicians opposed to the Bush administration's refusal to freeze Sino-U.S. relations. In conclusion, Popov said: I think a constructive dialogue between China and the United States not only will benefit the people of the two countries, but also will have a good effect on the entire international situation.

Northeast Asia

Japanese Leaders Cited on Kurils Question

PM1911154591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Nov 91 p 5

[Correspondent I. Latyshev report: "A Change of Tactics. Japanese Diplomacy Today"]

[Text] Tokyo, 14 Nov—In his first public statements, Kiichi Miyazawa, Japan's new prime minister, is giving a lot of attention to the present state of and prospects for the development of relations with the USSR. From what he has said, his intention to make adjustments to Japan's former policy toward our country based on the so-called "principle of the indivisibility of politics and economics," is particularly striking.

Miyazawa's statement, which he made immediately after forming his new cabinet, speaks unambiguously about the possibility of Japan's departing from rigid compliance with this "principle" and offering the Soviet Union certain kinds of "financial aid" without close linkage to its claims to the southern islands of the Kuril chain. In his parliamentary speech devoted to setting out the new government's political course, Miyazawa stated in particular: "We intend to provide suitable assistance for the efforts being made by the Soviet Union and East European countries aimed at constructively promoting the cause of establishing a new world order based on the market economy and democracy."

Remarks made by Michio Watanabe, Japan's new foreign minister, were framed in the same spirit. In an interview with the KYODO news agency, Watanabe explained, for example, that the emergent possibility of Japan's departing from the "principle of the indivisibility of politics and economics" has been a result of the changes that have taken place in recent months in the Soviet Union and in the foreign policy it is pursuing.

Noteworthy too are the views of Japan's new prime minister and foreign minister on the prospects for resolving its territorial dispute with the Soviet Union. Both the above statesmen are inclined to think that at the present time Japan ought, first and foremost, to step up the propaganda pressure on Soviet society and particularly on the inhabitants of Sakhalin Oblast, who are vigorously rebuffing Japanese territorial claims. As Miyazawa explained at his first news conference, he sees one of the tasks of the government that he heads as being to dispel in whatever way possible "the fears of Soviet people" living in the "northern territories." Touching on the same question in an interview with the KYODO news agency, Watanabe focused attention on the fact that in recent discussions with Japanese statesmen, Soviet leaders like M. Gorbachev and B. Yeltsin have opposed Japanese territorial claims by resorting not to juridical or historical arguments but to mere references to "Soviet public opinion." It seems that Watanabe regards these changes in the Soviet argument as evidence of a weakening in the Soviet leadership's opposition to

Japanese pressure. Henceforth, it follows from his reasoning, the efforts of Japanese diplomacy should be concentrated on popularizing a "correct" version among Soviet people, according to which the four southern islands in the Kuril chain are "Japanese territories."

Disputes at Korean Joint Venture Intensify

PM1811145791 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 16 Nov 91 First Edition p 3

[Viktor Alekseyev report: "'Business' Korean-Style"]

[Text] In Moscow, the strike at the Soviet-DPRK "Rozek" joint enterprise is continuing. We have already gotten accustomed to miners, teachers, steel workers, and even public health workers taking that extreme step, driven to desperation by low wages, rising prices, galloping inflation, and difficult working conditions. The situation in the business world has long been considered quite all right, but it turns out that conflicts have also infiltrated that area.

Our newspaper has already spoken about the complex situation that has developed at "Rozek" and about the disagreements between the Soviet and Korean sides, which, in principle, also brought about this protest action. We would remind you that the main reasons for the strike were illegal mass dismissals of the joint enterprise's Soviet personnel and the sale of the enterprise's fixed capital—foreign machines and equipment—without the Soviet side's knowledge.

Since then, the conflict has not only not died down, but has also taken on new, more acute forms. A blockade of the "Rozek" main office by representatives of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Academy has joined the attacks on the striking Korean militants' headquarters and direct threats of physical reprisals against the strike's organizers. Soviet personnel are simply unable to get to work. What is more, according to the personal testimony of General Director Yim Chun-kek [name as transliterated], the entire strike committee has been deprived of wages. Korean nationals alone are being taken on for work, without the knowledge of the joint enterprise's Soviet board.

Another curious element has also been discovered. M. Chagay of "Rozek's" competitor, the Soviet-Singapore firm "Rossin," has been appointed as temporary replacement for Yu. Gutin, who has been removed from his post as first deputy general director. Despite the Soviet side's frequent protests at the illegal shipment to North Korea of machine tools and trucks that were, incidentally, bought with rubles, although all transactions with the North Koreans must be carried out in hard currency alone, Yim Chun-kek is still concluding contracts with "Stankotekhprom" whereby considerable sums are being taken out of the "Rozek" trading account.

The situation is heating up every day. The situation is totally out of control. But, evidently, the city's fathers are less worried now about the prestige of national business and the squandering of Russian property than about raising bread and vodka prices. Neither the Moscow government nor the Russian Prosecutor's Office have as yet interfered in the conflict.

North East & South Asia

Further on Kuwaiti Amir's Visit to Moscow

More on Gorbachev Meeting

LD1811192191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1822 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow, 18 Nov (TASS)—Today, USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev met with Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad al-Sabah, the amir of Kuwait, who has arrived in Moscow on a working visit.

According to an official report, the amir stated during the cordial conversation that the main purpose of his visit is to express profound gratitude on behalf of the Kuwaiti people and himself personally for the resolute support for the independence and sovereignty of Kuwait, which was the victim of aggression. Soviet-Kuwaiti relations have emerged strengthened from the events in the Gulf, new horizons have opened up for their development.

Mikhail Gorbachev agreed with this assessment, having noted that the USSR acted in accordance with the principles of its foreign policy and as a friend of Kuwait. In his turn he stressed the energetic striving of the Soviet side to augment the capital of Soviet-Kuwaiti mutual understanding and cooperation. The amir's idea regarding the need to expand bilateral economic relations and for Soviet participation in the restoration work gained support. The inclination for further development of cooperation with the Arab countries, which remains one of the priorities of Soviet foreign policy, was confirmed.

The sides agreed with the fact that security in the Gulf region cannot be ensured by building up arms and armed forces there, but should be based on the collective principles and guarantees of the permanent members of the UN Security Council. The common opinion was also expressed that the Middle East conference that has started is a historic chance to restore the long-awaited peace in the region which should not be missed.

In keeping with the wishes of the Kuwaiti side, the president gave a brief account of the situation in the USSR. Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad al-Sabah expressed the conviction that in the end it would be able to resolve its difficulties, to find a way of uniting the republics. The international community is interested in the success of the transformations being carried out, in the USSR remaining a great power playing a weighty role in world affairs.

The amir conveyed an invitation to visit Kuwait to Mikhail Gorbachev, which was accepted with gratitude.

Receives Primakov, Shevardnadze

LD1811205391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1838 GMT 18 Nov 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Postanogov]

[Excerpts] Moscow, 18 Nov (TASS)—The visit to the Soviet Union by the amir of Kuwait, Jabir al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah, is passing in an atmosphere of friendship, trust, and mutual understanding. [passage omitted]

At the residence in Lenin Hills, the Kuwaiti amir received Yevgeniy Primakov, head of the Central Intelligence Service, who, as USSR presidential special representative, made a considerable contribution toward settling the crisis in the Persian Gulf, as well as Eduard Shevardnadze, president of the foreign political association.

Departs Moscow 19 Nov

LD1911111891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0750 GMT 19 Nov 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Moscow, 19 Nov (TASS)— Kuwaiti Amir Jabir al-Ahmad al-Sabah left our country this morning. He was in Moscow on a brief working visit.

During his stay in Moscow Jabir al-Ahmad al-Sabah met USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic. He also took part in Soviet-Kuwaiti talks. The eminent guest met with Eduard Shevardnadze, president of the Foreign Policy Association, and Yevgeniy Primakov, head of the Central Intelligence Service, who as special representative of the USSR president made no small contribution to the settlement of the Iraq-Kuwait conflict.

The meetings and talks in Moscow took place in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and trust. The parties discussed the prospects for the development of bilateral relations. They also reviewed a wide range of international and regional problems, and mapped out a path for interaction.

Union Agrees To Bury Iraq's Enriched Uranium

PM1811151591 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Nov 91 p 3

[Report by S. Brilev: "Deathly Silence on the Matter Here"]

[Text] AFP announced on 14 November that our country had agreed to bury on its territory, "on a purely commercial basis by agreement with the United Nations," enriched uranium and other radioactive substances found by UN experts at nuclear facilities in Iraq, including substances supplied by the Soviet Union itself.

We immediately contacted Albert Shishkin, general director of "Tekhsnabeksport" [All-Union Association for export and import of radioactive and stable isotopes, rare metals, and nuclear engineering equipment].

"All I have heard is that after the end of the war in the Persian Gulf nuclear fuel of unknown origin was found at a research reactor in Iraq. Perhaps it is ours, or perhaps it is French, or someone else's. Naturally, it should be returned to the supplier. It is not yet known who supplied the fuel. As for the report about our willingness to bury these radioactive substances on the territory of the USSR, I know nothing of that."

It remains for us to add that the research reactor, situated not far from Baghdad, was constructed to a Soviet plan, but was maintained by Iraqis.

Deal Considered 'Commercial'

LD1511153291 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1430 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] Western businessmen are trying to find places to store harmful industrial waste. For example, Namibia has received very alluring proposals. This deal could bring the country $125 billion. However, the country's authorities have no particular enthusiasm for the proposal, and environmental campaigners are especially indignant.

If you are wondering why I gave you this report, here is the reason. The point is that the deal seems to have been clinched in another country. I am referring to the Soviet Union, where the first consignment of enriched uranium is to be sent under the conditions of the agreement on ending military operations in the Persian Gulf zone. We supplied the uranium to Iraq, and now it is coming back. I should mention that our raw material was used for a nuclear center near Baghdad. That was a TASS report.

Now, AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE, quoting INTERFAX, adds that the deal is commercial, and it includes not only the uranium which was supplied to Saddam Husayn during the period of our great friendship.

The question arises: Why do we need other people's waste to pollute our Russian soil, which is already in a lamentable state? The question is up in the air, you understand, but as soon as there is any new information, we will naturally tell you about it.

Requested by Atomic Energy Agency

OW1811193091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1838 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] 10.9 kg of 80% enriched uranium-235 and 1.2 kg of 36% enriched uranium is the amount of uranium Iraq has returned to the USSR. The expert of the Nuclear Power Ministry who cited these figures explained to IF

[INTERFAX] that the enriched uranium had been sold by the Soviet Union to Iraq for research at a nuclear reactor at Baghdad.

Under a resolution of the UN Security Council, Iraq lost title to the uranium. According to the ministry's official, the USSR is receiving the uranium in compliance with the request of the International Atomic Energy Agency [IAEA] that will finally retrieve the uranium. But prior to that, the uranium will be treated in the USSR to reduce its enrichment level. The job will be paid for by the IAEA because the deal is commercial, said the expert. The official refused to disclose the Soviet Union's earnings from the deal.

Further Reportage on Mujahidin Talks

Rabbani Interviewed

PM1811142191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Nov 91 First Edition p 3

[Interview with B. Rabbani, head of Afghan mujahidin delegation, by correspondents Colonel A. Oliynik and Lieutenant Colonel R. Mustafin; date, place not given: "Mujahidin Ready for Dialogue with Russians"]

[Text] [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Professor Rabbani, what is your assessment of the present military-political situation in Afghanistan?

[Rabbani] This is the 12th year running that war has been waged and the blood of Afghans has been shed on our soil. According to far from complete data, there have been 1.5 million deaths alone, entire cities have been destroyed—Qandahar, Khowst, Jalalabad, and thousands of villages have been totally wiped off the face of the earth by aircraft and missiles. Responsibility for all this rests primarily with the Najibollah regime, which is still propped up by military aircraft and Scuds supplied in the past by Moscow. But this regime controls just 15 percent of Afghan territory. The mujahidin forces are growing all the time. Our detachments are fighting successfully close to Jalalabad and Gardeyz, Qandahar and Kabul... At any moment the troops of Ahmad Shah Mas'ud could cut the road through Salang. But we are not doing this just to ensure that Kabul does not starve. Our people have suffered greatly during the years of war: The economy has been undermined, and social ties that had been evolving for centuries have been destroyed. Our people are continuing to experience the grave consequences of war. At the same time we are fully resolved to do everything to overcome these grave consequences.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Do you consider it possible in the future, if you accede to power, to develop relations with the Soviet Union?

[Rabbani] We are ready to develop relations with the Soviet Union and with the peoples who live there. And we hope for this. Otherwise we would not have come here. But it is necessary to create the prerequisites, the conditions for this. In addition to the Russian people, with whom we are ready to develop cooperation, other peoples who are close to us in terms of culture, history, and religion border on Afghanistan. Understand, we have no intention of taking vengeance on anyone, because this would merely result in the continuation of the war. We Muslims must forgive. Of course, there are terrible people among the present regime in Kabul, whom I would compare with your Beria. There will be no forgiveness for them. Therefore, they must leave Afhganistan before there will be any changes in our country. Probably not many people in your country know that Najibollah's brother came over to our side in the past. He was in the trenches together with the mujahidin. We did not raise any obstacles when he wished to travel to Germany, and then to the United States.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] You say that you have no intention of taking vengeance. But there was considerable destruction and numerous casualties at the time of the taking of Khowst in March of this year.

[Rabbani] There was fierce fighting there, and it was impossible to avoid destruction. Aircraft of the Kabul regime systematically bombed the city.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] But cases of looting and theft were known then...

[Rabbani] The thing is that there are tribes living in the Khowst region which have their own scores and frequently operate according to their own laws and traditions. We warned them that this must not be done. But, unfortunately, we were unable to prevent it. Recently, however, after we took several population centers in the north of Afghanistan, we did not lay a finger on anyone, not even Communists. I ordered that all teachers be given a year's salary.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] How do you assess the results of your trip to Moscow and the course of the talks with the Union and Russian leadership?

[Rabbani] We frankly told your leadership that the Soviet Union bears direct responsibility for the catastrophe in Afghanistan. We realize that your present leaders had no direct bearing on the intervention in Afghanistan. But we insist that an end be put to the consequences of this war. I said in the talks: Why did you send your young men to our country to kill our young men and die themselves? But, even now that you yourselves are experiencing serious economic difficulties, you continue to deprive yourselves of a slice of bread and send it to Kabul. We believe that you could compensate for your mistakes by ceasing to support Kabul.

It is too early to sum up the results. The chief thing is probably that the mujahidin are ready for a dialogue with the Russians who have embarked on the path of democracy. We believe that, regardless of the results of our visit, the talks with Moscow must be continued, and then peace will come more quickly to the ancient Afghan land.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] How do you perceive the United Nations' role in settling the Afghan conflict?

[Rabbani] It is hard to say. Russia's role in resolving the Afghan war is far more important to us than the UN role.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Many people in our country are interested in the problem of freeing the Soviet prisoners of war. Could you say, if only approximately, how many of our fellow citizens are now in mujahidin hands?

[Rabbani] This is a rather complex question for us. Quite honestly, we have proved not quite ready for this. Previously, during the times of Brezhnev, you never showed any interest in the fate of your soldiers and officers taken captive by us. This ardent interest in them emerged relatively recently. In addition, your many prisoners of war are in the hands of different detachments. From time to time we are forced to move them from one place to another, together with our detachments, in order to avoid air and missile strikes. At one time the Pakistani authorities prohibited us from keeping prisoners on their territory, and so they were with field commanders. We have no precise data at present. But we will begin gathering such information.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] What do you think: Will those unhappy mothers who are waiting for their children's return from captivity be more hopeful following your visit to Moscow?

[Rabbani] I must say that we were touched and moved to the depth of our soul when we saw the tears of your mothers, when we saw them weeping. And this had a big effect on us.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Do your words mean that you will soon release our men?

[Rabbani] We are thinking about this. But a corresponding mechanism is needed for this. Understand us. We in turn are under pressure from Afghan mothers who have also lost their children, and under pressure from many field commanders.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] It turns out that you link this question of the release of our prisoners with political demands.

[Rabbani] Believe me, we do not want to make any political linkage here. We have difficulties of a technical and a purely human nature here.

POW Reportedly Released

OW1811174491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1613 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Shortly after a leader of the irreconcilable Afghan opposition, Mr. Burhanuddin Rabbani, ended his visit to Moscow, one more Soviet POW, captured in Afghanistan seven years ago, was liberated. He is former tank driver Ilkham Erkayev, who is an Uzbek by origin. At a press conference on Monday [18 November] he said that he had spent the past five years in Pakistan, "busy studying Islam under supervision". No attempts were made to force him to fight against the Soviet Army, he said. Neither did he meet with other POWs, he added. Mr. Erkayev said that the Afghans had treated him in a "friendly and well-meaning way".

Chairman of the Soviet President's Committee for Afghan War Veterans, Mr. Ruslan Aushev, who was present at the press conference, said that he favoured the idea of setting up a president's fund that could be used for liberating the Soviet POWs still in Afghanistan and Pakistan. He said that now money came from private donors. Meanwhile, delay may shatter hopes for liberation.

Mortazawi on Talks

OW1811180391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1651 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Report by M. Mayorov and I. Porshnev from "Diplomatic Panorama"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] We have always criticized the political settlement of the Afghan question and insisted that the Soviet side get down to negotiating and discussing relations, expressing their opinions towards the existing problems. Seyed Rakhmatullah Mortazawi, the leader of the Shiite faction of Afghan mujahidin, and a spokesman for the party of Islamic Unity of Afghanistan announced this to "DP" [Diplomatic Panorama] at the end of negotiations in Moscow. He even said that "the mujahidin had always been convinced that above all the USSR's stubborn position had been a fundamental obstacle in ending bloodshed in Afghanistan."

"Now the Soviets must officially change their approach and attitude towards the Afghan question, that in itself will show how successful the Moscow meeting has been." Now, when the Soviet side has fully and legitimately recognized the basic demands of the mujahidin we can take joint steps towards normalizing the situation in the region.

According to Mortazawi, the main aim of the Afghan mujahidin during the talks in Moscow was to obtain from the USSR "a recognition of their historic guilt to the Afghan nation, to secure a guarantee that henceforth they would never again interfere in internal affairs and also that support for the puppet regime of Najibollah would end." Mortazawi stressed that all remaining demands, including financial reparation, helping restore the devastated economy and aiding the return of Afghan emigrants to their motherland—were withdrawn in the second plan, although extremely important for the country.

In answer to "DP" 's question as to whether this group of mujahidin were pleased with the results of the Moscow negotiations, some representatives of which were not

among the delegation, Mortazawi noted that "doubtless they have their own particular opinions, although with regard to the main aim—ending support for Najibollah—the mujahidin were in agreement."

With regard to the release of Soviet prisoners of war, Mortazawi said that in the near future a mechanism would be developed to help solve the problem. "The mujahidin would not interfere in the return of prisoners," Mortazawi declared, "you see we have already shown kindness in returning some Soviet soldiers unconditionally." In addition to this, Mortazawi emphasized that "the mujahidin would not send ex-POWs back to the Soviet Union if they had decided to remain in Pakistan or some other place forever." "The Afghan mujahidin do not hold it against them and are prepared to help their parents reach them."

MFA Official on Early Rounds

92UF0213A Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 13 Nov 91 p 3

[St. Kucher report: "The Mujahidin at the Negotiations and as Guests"]

[Text] Yesterday the Afghan mujahidin began negotiations in Moscow with Boris Pankin and his assistants.

The subject of the first round of negotiations were, as Aleksandr Rozanov, deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Agency, told your correspondent, general problems of a settlement in Afghanistan, including such a delicate question as the fate of the present Kabul government. Burhanuddin Rabbani, leader of the Afghanistan Islamic Society, who heads the delegation, declared that the Najibollah government had to be replaced by an Islamic government, and it was recommended that the USSR forget about all the treaties concluded with the government of Afghanistan in the past 13 years and consent to its participation in the postwar restoration of Afghanistan (read: be prepared to invest money in support of the future mujahidin government). It is believed that a figure of hundreds of billions of dollars may be heard.

During the second round there was heated discussion of the question of the fate of POW's held by the mujahidin. It was decided to "treat this as a humanitarian problem." In other words, the POW's will have to wait for better times.

The question of a cease-fire in Afghanistan, to which the Soviet side attached particular significance, remained unsolved also.

According to Aleksandr Rozanov, "the details of the negotiations could hardly be of interest to the reader since no specific decision was adopted, everything being confined to fruitful discussion, which is in itself an appreciable advance in our relations." We have to agree with this assertion. It is obvious that for both parties the negotiations were planned from the outset as an exploration of the situation.

An unplanned moment in the mujahidin's visit to Moscow was their meeting with Eduard Shevardnadze at 0830 yesterday. "They requested, Eduard Amvrosiyevich consented," Sergey Tarasenko, assistant to the president of the Foreign Policy Association, said. "Many of the world's powerful visiting Moscow have been calling on us of late. Rabbani began by saying that the Afghan side valued highly the role which was performed by the former foreign minister in the withdrawal of forces from Afghanistan. The discussion was warm and friendly and was of a political-philosophical nature. Shevardnadze said that he was not representing the official position of the USSR—he simply wanted to talk in a general context about what he supports. He mentioned the significance in the solution of the Afghan problem attached to new foreign policy factors—the change in the USSR-U.S. relations, for example...."

Mediation Role Seen for Union

LD1811223791 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1310 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Excerpts] The Afghan Government has made public a statement in Kabul over the talks that have ended in Moscow between a delegation of the mujahidin and representatives of the leadership of and of [as heard] the Union and Russian Foreign Ministries. Commentary is by Aleksey Kondratyev:

There is a notable point in the Afghan Government's statement voicing conviction that the dialogue and the talks between all the sides involved in the conflict, both inside the country and abroad, are the main way for a political settlement of the Afghan problem. Thus Kabul, though with some reservations about the composition of the delegation of the mujahidin, doesn't cast doubt on the legitimacy of their talks in Moscow. [passage omitted] There is an apt reminder that the United Nations plan admits the need for an interim period, the concrete details of which should be worked out and coordinated in the framework of an inter-Afghan dialogue. [passage omitted]

As far as one can gather Moscow will cooperate with any interim government enjoying the trust of the Afghan people, without making any accent on the men, forces and groupings in the government. Notably, President Najibollah has also said on many occasions that he puts the issue of reaching peace and accord in Afghanistan above his personal destiny. Importantly, such a government should be a product of an inter-Afghan dialogue.

As I see it, the results of the Moscow talks with the Afghan mujahidin provide for some mediation functions from Moscow in starting an inter-Afghan dialogue as soon as possible. It is also quite essential that Kabul voices total support for the start of the dialogue and regards it as the principal key to an Afghan settlement.

Mujahidin's Demands Viewed

PM1811135191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Nov 91 First Edition p 2

[Article by observer Aleksandr Golts: "Long Shadow of Endless War"]

[Text] I think that I am not the only one for whom the war in Afghanistan gave rise to an association with the far-off war which Russia once waged in the Caucasus... And not only because, as we did a century ago, we tried, in the name of interests which seemed to be state interests, to impose on another people our own ideas of the "correct path." It is also because the desperate mountain dwellers who honor freedom above all else have entered our life as if from there, from the last century. And also because our "strategic contingent" which found itself in an inhumanly difficult situation gave rise to its own Maksim Maksimyches and Olenins [reference to characters in Lermontov's *A Hero of Our Time* and Tolstoy's *The Cossacks*].

And now this week the two wars—one near by and one remote—have again been associated in the most inscrutable way. I suspect that the example of Afghanistan and the memory of the Caucasus war, which lasted decades, have become not the least of the factors which have kept the Russian leadership from attempting to resolve by force the problems of Checheno-Ingushetia. These factors were among those which forced it to choose the complex path of talks.

And it has so happened that other talks have begun in Moscow at the same time. The delegation headed by one of the leaders of the armed opposition, B. Rabbani, has arrived in Moscow with an entirely definite position. It is set forth in detail in an interview, published yesterday, which a colleague of mine took from the delegation's leader. The thrust is the demand to break off all agreements with the Kabul government and to cease all forms of support for it. The terms set out by the mujahidin have given rise to heated debate in our press and in society. Many people believe that it is essential to accept these terms and thus to pay the debt we owe to Afghanistan and to promote the release of our imprisoned soldiers.

There is no denying that we bear considerable responsibility to that country. And our boys must be helped out. But should this be done on the terms set by Rabbani?

Let us begin with the moral aspect of the matter. Our duty consists primarily in ending the bloodshed in Afghanistan. And our country recently took a step in this direction, reaching agreement with the United States on the mutual ending of arms deliveries to the warring sides. We shall be frank and say that this undoubtedly correct step has already placed Najibollah's government in a complicated position. After all, the Kabul troops received weapons from one source while the mujahidin have several. And the Soviet-U.S. accord in no way means that Pakistan and Saudi Arabia will cease to supply weapons to the Afghan opposition.

In this situation is it worth ostentatiously breaking off relations with Kabul? Our press is now publishing very impartial assessments of Najibollah himself and his regime. But let us not forget that in contrast to other foreign creatures of the Brezhnev era he has succeeded in keeping his grip on power. Moreover, today he is talking of general elections in Afghanistan, which should determine that country's leader. In my view the Kabul leadership has a quite firm support among certain strata of the Afghan population. They are the hundreds and thousands of people who, whether some people like it or not, have linked their fate with the changes which have taken place in Afghanistan in the past 10 years.

Now let us turn from moral problems to state affairs. It is perfectly obvious that our country's interests demand that there be a friendly neighbor to the south of us. I merely doubt that a regime of victorious mujahidin will be a friendly neighbor. I recall that B. Rabbani, who is putting forward very tough demands, expresses the position of the "moderates." There are powerful groupings of Islamic fundamentalists like G. Hekmatyar, R. Sayyaf, and Y. Khalis operating in the Afghan political sphere. These people in principle refuse to conduct talks with Moscow. And one can only guess how they will act with regard to our country when they come to power.

After all, it is no secret that hard times lie ahead for our country, including the Central Asian republics. Times fraught with social upheavals. And it is in this period that national and religious factors acquire unusual force. And the events in Checheno-Ingushetia have shown that. What if at a moment of instability Islamic fundamentalists with over 10 years' experience interfere in the affairs of the Central Asian republics?

I think that our politicians and diplomats should not avoid these problems. Of course, there are not and cannot be any objections to talks with the Afghan opposition. But at these talks our country should promote a settlement through the rapprochement of positions. The facts of recent times, when representatives of Israel and the Palestinian Arabs, the "Khmers Rouges" and the representatives of the Phnom Penh regime have been successfully sat down at the conference table show that there are no insoluble tasks.

Iran Welcomes Talks

LD1811220891 Moscow TASS in English 2158 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] Tehran November 18 TASS—Iranian Deputy Foreign Minister Mahmud Va'ezi has positively estimated the results of the recently finished Moscow negotiations between Soviet officials and a delegation from Afghan mujahidin.

Meeting Soviet Ambassador to Iran Vladimir Guden today, he stressed that the joint statement adopted on

negotiation results is a positive step on the way to the fulfilment of aspirations of the Afghan people, wishing to see an Islamic government in Kabul.

Va'ezi also said Tehran welcomes the current Soviet changes and hopes the Soviet people will successfully overcome the difficult transitional period underway in the country.

Article on Afghanistan Rebutted

LD1511142491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1421 GMT 14 Nov 91

[By TASS observer Yuriy Tyssovskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 14 Nov (TASS)—"It is up to the Afghans themselves to decide who should take power in Kabul." I have taken this wise quotation from the report on the opening of talks between the Soviet side and a mujahidin delegation, signed by Aleksandr Ivanko, which was carried in the 12 November edition of IZVESTIYA. And when I write "wise" I do not imply any irony here.

Yes, it is up to the Afghans themselves, who are currently split into two seemingly irreconcilable camps, to settle their domestic afairs without outside interference. Naturally, I do not define as "interference" the good offices, the assistance which the Soviet Union, the United States or, for instance, the United Nations, can offer to Kabul and Peshawar. But one should in no way damage the nascent peaceful process. I must state with regret that the IZVESTIYA correspondent's article is deliberately, I stress, aimed at undermining this process both in content and in spirit.

First of all, A. Ivanko's report lays the main stress on smearing the Kabul government and President Najibollah personally in every possible way. It alleges that "he has blood on his hands" while the regime itself is "illegal" only because, it follows from the author's elaborations, it was placed in power by the USSR KGB, was maintained there "by the benevolence of the KGB, the Ministry of Defense, and the operative group of Army General V. Varennikov, a future putschist." I cannot deny it; it is true to a great degree. But other things are true, too—as President Najibollah has shown himself to be a clever and subtle politician, flexible, and with a good grasp of all the nuances of Afghan realities, who has stakes on peace in the country and is prepared to quit his post if the latter becomes an obstacle to peace. Besides, Najibollah's party, which A. Ivanko persistently calls the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, has hundreds of thousands of followers and is a real political force which one cannot dismiss with a stroke of journalist's pen.

Such attempts are simply nonchalant. As to "blood on one's hands", I would ask the author to name at least one leader of the mujahidin who would have dazzlingly clean hands. There are no grounds for believing that after coming to power by an "uncivilized" way they would refrain from the wholesale massacre of their political opponents and members of their families. I, for one, am convinced that that is the way it will be.

A. Ivanko's entire logic boils down to the premise that "the Kabul regime is the main stumbling block" in our dialogue with the mujahidin. Not at all! The main point of discord is the Peshawar leader's reluctance to follow the only sensible path of settling the Afghan conflict put forward by UN Secretary General Perez Javier de Cuellar, on the basis of holding free and democratic elections in the "mountain country". The elections would show "who is who" in Afghanistan.

The author of the report asserts: "No Soviet diplomatic efforts can keep Najibollah's regime afloat." But there are no such efforts! There are actions aimed at bringing the warring parties to the negotiating table and starting a dialogue. And not only Soviet diplomacy but the United States, a country which seemed to be an irreconcilable enemy of "the Kabul Communists", is involved in these efforts, too.

And the last thing: When the Russian delegation's position at the talks was being formed, a huge—I would say decisive—role was played by a striving to achieve the liberation at almost any price of our POWs still held by the mujahidin. I will give the following view, though. All of those who have returned home, after all, have gained freedom with the active participation of the very same regime which A. Ivanko so intensely dislikes. And until today this path remains the most realistic one, although it is riddled with difficluties. But one will have to make it.

Pankin May 'Suggest' Moscow for Conference

LD1611184891 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1700 GMT 16 Nov 91

[Text] In a letter to Egyptian Foreign Minister 'Amr Musa, Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin has said this country will probably suggest that the next stage of the Middle East peace conference be held in its capital, Moscow.

The Soviet ambassador to Cairo has handed the letter over to 'Amr Musa. According to the ambassador, Boris Pankin informed his counterpart the Soviet Union continues exploring possibilities for launching bilateral negotiations between the Arab nations and Israel.

The Soviet Union and the United States co-chair the Middle East peace conference, which opened on the 30th of last month in Madrid.

Commentary Views Iran-U.S. Relations

NC1911072691 Moscow Radio Moscow in Persian to Iran 1430 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Yuriy Andreyev commentary]

[Text] Esteemed listeners. U.S. President George Bush has announced extending the extraordinary condition on

U.S.-Iranian relations for another year. The national [melli] extraordinary condition on Tehran-Washington relations was imposed for the first time on 4 November 1979 when the occupation of the U.S. Embassy in Tehran was announced. A group of government-supported Iranian students captured American diplomats and held them hostage, after which the United States was declared the arch-Satan throughout Iran.

The White House accused Iran of government-sponsored terrorism and severed all relations with it. Officially, this is where U.S.- Iranian relations remain.

U.S. President George Bush told Congress that the extraordinary situation between the two countries has not been entirely eliminated. Diplomatic and commercial relations between the two are not normalized as before, attributed by impartial observers more to Iran's attitude and actions than anything else.

In Iran the United States is officially the number one enemy of the religion of Islam. As foreign experts state, Iranian Government officials' domestic policies allegedly create stability by causing commotion. This envisages a permanent foreign enemy being present to coalesce the people with the country's leadership. The United States is playing this role in Tehran's affairs.

When 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani came to power in Iran, definite changes appeared in Iranian-U.S. relations. George Bush and 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani and their official representives have abstained from harshly-worded remarks against one another, one of the distinctive characteristics of U.S.-Iranian relations after the Islamic Revolution in 1979 until now. In the past two years, Iran and the United States have often exchanged messages through intermediaries; the United States using Switzerland and Iran resorting to the services of Algeria. At times these exchanges came close to talks between the two countries.

Some time ago, U.S. President George Bush openly spoke of normalizing relations between the two countries. He told an Arabic-language newspaper in Washington: We do not have any hostile attitude to Iran and I am personally not inclined to view the Iranian leaders as my enemies.

Esteemed listeners. White House pacifist steps have not been ignored in Tehran. 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani commented: It would have been logical if direct talks between Iran and the United States took place.

Even now the extraordinary relationship between Iran and the United States persists, the two countries traversing only a small part of the road which would culminate in normalizing their relations.

Difficulties in Indian Relations Viewed

BK1611150391 Moscow Radio Moscow in Hindi 1200 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Aleksey Kondratyev Commentary]

[Text] Indian External Affairs Minister Madhavsinh Solanki has arrived in Moscow on an official visit. Our commentator Aleksey Kondratyev writes:

Much importance is being attached to this visit both in Moscow and New Delhi. Although the two countries have enjoyed traditional friendly relations over the years, their policies on several problems that have cropped up during past few years need to be clarified. Changes taking place in the Soviet Union and the emergence of Soviet republics as separate sovereign states on the international scene have also necessitated a new approach to the issue of future bilateral cooperation. It is hoped that the Indian-Soviet policies of mutual cooperation, which have proved helpful to a great extent in the stabilization of the situation in Asia, will not only be reaffirmed but also kept intact. During the talks, the two sides will underscore the need for strict adherence to the Delhi Declaration on principles of a nuclear-and-violence-free world signed by Gorbachev and Rajiv Gandhi in 1986.

It is regrettable that bilateral cooperation, especially in trade, currently faces serious difficulties. There is no denying that the imbalance in trade relations is increasing because of the economic crisis in the Soviet Union, causing additional difficulties for India. At the same time, the assumption of sovereign status by the Soviet republics has provided them with the opportunity for direct cooperation with India. This is a constructive trend, especially because it will facilitate Indian entrepreneurs' participation in this cooperation, besides boosting bilateral cooperation in the implementation of major projects at interstate level.

Some problems also exist in other spheres of cooperation, especially in defense. Even though I am not a military expert, it appears to me that limiting military cooperation will, probably, not be appropriate, because the economic aspect of this cooperation is no less important than military and political considerations. Keeping in view the tremendous experience of Indian-Soviet cooperation, it can be hoped that the two sides will be able to find appropriate ways and means to overcome current difficulties so as to maintain their existing level of multifaceted, close, and friendly relations.

East Europe

Assets Cause Delay in 'Winding Up' CEMA

LD1611112491 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0730 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Interview with Sergey Aleksandrovich Ugarov, advisor to the CEMA Secretariat, by program presenter Andrey

Trapeznikov on 15 November; from the "Mayak Panorama" program—live or recorded]

[Text] [Trapeznikov] The commission responsible for winding up the CEMA should have completed its work on 13 November. However, the members of this commission will evidently have to continue their talks for at least another month. What is the reason for this? I shall ask Sergey Aleksandrovich Ugarov, an adviser to the CEMA Secretariat, to talk about this. He is on the line to the Mayak Panorama studio. Over to you, Sergey Aleksandrovich.

[Ugarov] The CEMA winding-up commission has been at work ever since the decision was taken to wind up CEMA 140 days ago. But it has not been able to adopt a decision on the main issue—the assets of the CEMA .

[Trapeznikov] What is the main reason for that?

[Ugarov] The main reason is the difference in approaches to the question of what to do with these assets. There is an agreement between the CEMA and the USSR Government. This says that, in the event of the organization being wound up, the council's assets can only be disposed of or passed on to another owner with the consent of the USSR Government. If the USSR Government does not give its consent, all the CEMA's assets are acquired by the USSR Government at a price to be agreed between the CEMA and the USSR Government. The Soviet side has announced its intention to acquire the CEMA's assets in accordance with this agreement. That is one approach.

The second approach is that taken by the five East European countries, which believe that the agreement which I mentioned cannot be interpreted so unequivocally, so automatically as it were. In their view, the agreement does not rule out the possibility of using these assets for a different purpose, in particular joint utilization for the development of trade and economic ties between the former members of CEMA .

So, these are the two approaches at the moment. Since a compromise decision which would unite these two approaches has not been reached, the commission will be continuing its work for approximately another 30 days in order to try to hammer out a compromise decision.

[Trapeznikov] Sergey Aleksandrovich, 140 days have passed. The members of the commission have been unable to reach an agreed decision. What will happen if, after this month has expired, the sides still have not managed to reach agreement?

[Ugarov] Well, in the case that a decision cannot be reached, one can of course envisage yet another extension of the winding-up commission's work. But I do not think this will happen. If that is so, then CEMA will be wound up de jure in a month's time and its assets will remain, strictly speaking, in abeyance. It is very difficult to predict what will happen in such a case. I do not even rule out the possibility of recourse to international arbitration.

[Trapeznikov] Well, let's hope that that does not happen. The failure to settle the matter would then take on a kind of international dimension, as you are aware. I thank Sergey Aleksandrovich Ugarov, adviser to the CEMA Secretariat, for his very interesting information.

UN Peacekeeping Action Sought on Yugoslavia

LD1811222791 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1310 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Commentary by Yuriy Solton]

[Excerpts] The units of the Yugoslav Federal Army, supported by the Serbian voluntary guardsmen, have been besieging the Croatian town of Vukovar for 86 days. The town, where one fourth of the population are Croats and one half Serbs, has surrendered to the Army. [passage omitted]

Mutual accusations of cruelty, of violating the 13th cease-fire agreement, the helplessness of the federal authorities, leave less and less hope for mutual reconciliation. The European Community economic sanctions do not work and the United Nations Security Council's embargo is also violated. Yugoslavia's neighbors and other European countries are faced with a problem that requires an ever more urgent answer.

What is to be done? Should they watch and wait while people are dying and the country is falling apart or should they take resolute steps? Different options have been considered, such as using a multilateral European peacekeeping force, the NATO army or a United Nations contingent. This possibility is being studied by the UN Secretary General's special envoy, Cyrus Vance, and the deputy UN secretary general, Marrack Goulding, who is in charge of all the peace-keeping operations.

Personally I believe, this is the most acceptable and effective option, the more so since the warring factions, as statements by some politicians have shown, tend to accept it also. United Nations forces have already done a good job in several trouble spots to disengage the warring factions. It is very likely the United Nations Security Council will, after a week of consultations on Yugoslavia, make serious decisions finally. There seems to be no other way of stopping bloodshed and war which is about to spill over Yugoslavia's borders.

West Europe

Honecker To Be Extradited to Germany

Gorbachev Opposes Extradition

LD1711104391 Hamburg DPA in German 0934 GMT 17 Nov 91

[Text] Hamburg (DPA)—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev energetically opposes the extradition of former

GDR state and party leader Erich Honecker to Germany. Gorbachev says in an interview with the Hamburg magazine STERN: "The Honecker matter is above all a question of humanity." The former Socialist Unity Party chief living in Moscow is an old man and has already been in prison "for over 10 years" under the Nazis.

In the interview, which was held on the same day that the Russian Government decided on Honecker's extradition, Gorbachev asks whether a "path of revenge" is now to be embarked upon in this area following German unification. The Russians have forgiven those Germans who served under Hitler in the Wehrmacht. "Now we of all people are to extradite Honecker? It does not make sense to me."

Gorbachev advises the Germans to settle the affair themselves. He has told Federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher that the German side should get together with Honecker via the embassy in Moscow and talk to him. Moreover, the case must not be linked with German-Soviet relations. One should not be making so much fuss about the whole matter either.

Gorbachev Adviser on Difficulties

LD1611135391 Berlin ADN in German 1232 GMT 16 Nov 91

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Gorbachev adviser Nikolay Portugalov has commented on the background of the escape of former GDR leader Erich Honecker to Moscow and on the difficulties with his return. In a prereleased interview with BERLINER KURIER AM SONNTAG he stresses that Yeltsin and Gorbachev have discussed the return of Honecker. Yeltsin is aware "that he cannot deal with this independently, but that he must coordinate it with the Union president. Gorbachev has made it clear that he has entered moral obligations which he intends to honor."

Concerning the strong tensions between Gorbachev and Honecker during the latter's period in office, Portugalov underlines that Honecker made serious mistakes and "landed us in the soup. After all, it was he who prevented perestroyka in the GDR. However, this has nothing to do with our obligation toward the then allied former head of state." Concerning this matter Gorbachev said "not everything which Honecker has done to us has been forgotten, but that is a different matter." The action to get Honecker to Moscow violated international law. "The way Honecker was virtually spirited away under cover of darkness bordered on illegality." This was done wholly by then Defense Minister Yazov, who is being put on trial soon, on his own responsibility together with the other August putschists. Gorbachev and Helmut Kohl were faced with a fait accompli. Yazov, with his unannounced visit to Jena, wanted to test the reaction of the German authorities. "Once he got away with that he launched the coup. Gorbachev neither gave the orders nor launched the action in any other way. Anyone trying to pin the blame on Gorbachev is very much mistaken." However, the fact remains, Portugalov says, that Honecker remained under the protection of Gorbachev. The president simply had to accept the fact that the man is, after all, here. Nonetheless, Gorbachev always spoke of a moral but not a legal obligation.

Yeltsin, Gorbachev Cited

LD1811231691 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2100 GMT 18 Nov 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Boris Yeltsin, preparing for his visit to the FRG, said in an ADN interview that Germany will become a stable partner of ours. Many people link the success of the visit with the handing over of Honecker. I do not think everything is quite so simple, although obviously the subject now had to come to the top of the agenda, especially since the relevant requests have been made by Germany. Here are the latest news items:

The RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY reports that a cell for one person, with an area of nine square meters has been prepared in a Berlin prison for the former leader of the GDR. (?STUD-INFORMA) reports that Russia's justice minister has left for Germany, where he will discuss the issue of handing over Honecker. TASS reports that Fedorov has already stated that the decision to hand him over has been made, although Gorbachev has his own position on this.

However, in Germany itself there is no unity. Some say that failing to hand him over goes against international law, while others support Gorbachev's humane point of view. DER SPIEGEL: Mikhail Sergeyevich, do you want to protect Honecker? Gorbachev—and I quote—I think that this is a humanitarian area. If one starts making a straightforward assessment of the actions of former politicians of cold war times, then no doubt they should all be sent to prison and not into retirement. But what should we do now—embark upon the path of revenge and vengefulness? For we have forgiven those who served in the Wehrmacht under Hitler. They have become normal, fully fledged citizens. Are we going to punish Honecker? I cannot get that into my head. I do not think we should whip up a campaign. Let all this come to an end in some normal way. End of the quotation, which we have given in summarized form.

Here is another facet: The RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY reports that Dmitriy Yazov organized bringing Honecker from Germany to the USSR at his own risk and on his own account, and that Gorbachev knew nothing about the operation.

Honecker Reportedly Requests Asylum

AU1911090391 Hamburg BILD in German 19 Nov 91 p 1

[Text] Yesterday [18 November] Erich Honecker (79) officially applied to the Soviet Government for asylum. A corresponding letter by Honecker is addressed to

Soviet head of state Mikhail Gorbachev. As of today, Honecker is also undergoing further treatment in hospital. He is moving into his suite in the General Mandryka Military Hospital in Sokolniki Park near Moscow, where he has already lived once in the past, just after his escape from Germany. Meanwhile, in Germany Chancellor Kohl has called for Honecker's return. It is intolerable that one should "let the big ones escape and catch the small fry," he said.

Honecker's Asylum Request Denied

LD1811213291 Berlin ADN in German 1921 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] Berlin [no date as received] (ADN)—Erich Honecker has not made an official application for asylum, Berlin's JUNGE WELT (Tuesday's [19 November] edition) quotes Karin Karagesyan of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's press office as saying. There also has been "no personal contact" between the former GDR head of state and the Soviet president, it says further in the interview. In addition, reference is made to the fact that Honecker has not received asylum in Moscow; therefore, his status has "not changed." The spokesman made the restrictive addition that a "binding legal assessment of the entry into the USSR in March has not yet been made." According to the spokesman, Honecker is, for the Soviet Government, "primarily an old man who spent 10 years in prison under the Nazis"; however, they see "legal problems." A good two years ago, Honecker had still been the head of state of an independent state and had acted in accordance with the laws of the land. The Russian Government's decision on Honecker's extradition also necessitates "a precise legal investigation." In this regard, Karagesyan referred to the fact that there was no extradition agreement between the Federal Republic and the Soviet Union, "including Russia."
(The interview was prereleased.)

Gorbachev Interviewed by STERN Magazine

LD1511225291 Moscow TASS in English 2210 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow November 15 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev today had a 90-minute interview with the German STERN magazine to cover current Soviet problems and prospects for their solution in the light of results of yesterday's meeting of the State Council.

He devoted much attention to relations with Germany, its role, including that on the international scene, in the support of and solidarity with the Soviet Union at the difficult transition stage.

The interview was timed to coincide with the anniversary of an unprecedented humanitarian action of Germans on the delivery of foodstuffs and medicines, and the modernization of Soviet medical establishments.

The president also touched on the most topical issues of the European process and the U.S. role in them.

There were many personal questions during the interview. Mikhail Gorbachev expressed his attitude to some major politicians.

The interview will be published in the near issue of the STERN and in the Soviet press.

Soviet, German Military See 'Eye to Eye'

OW1511203591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1759 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A visit by Soviet Defense Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov to West Germany on November 11-13 "helped lay the foundation for a security structure in Central Europe" and showed that the two sides saw eye to eye on major military and political issues, said Valeriy Hanilov, chief of the USSR Defense Ministry's information department at a Friday [15 November] briefing.

During the visit the top West German leaders, including Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, expressed "concern over the possible disintegration of the Soviet Armed Forces that is fraught with unforseeable consequences."

The sides confirmed determination to take efforts to build cooperation at every level, including more active exchanges of delegations of military school cadets. The Soviet Union agreed to sell spare parts for the equipment the Bundeswehr had inherited from the East German Army.

Asked by IF [INTERFAX] about the attitude of the military brass to claims some of the sovereign Soviet republics have been laying to the Soviet Defense Ministry's assets, Mr Manilov described these claims as unconstructive. He reminded that the Council of State had decided at its Thursday [14 November] sitting that the Armed Forces should in principle be united. "It is clear that such issues cannot be resolved unilaterally, and we continue to act on the assumption that the property of the military was created by the labour of all Soviet nations and must be owned collectively," said he.

Reportage on Shaposhnikov Visit to Germany

WA1411131391

For German reportage on the visit by USSR Defense Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov to Germany, including reports on his talks with German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Defense Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg, please see the Germany section of the 12 November West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Latin America & Caribbean

Foreign Ministry on El Salvador Developments

LD1811214191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1700 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow, 18 Nov (TASS)—The leadership of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) declared that from 16 November the rebels will cease offensive operations throughout the territory of El Salvador. According to reports, the Salvadoran Government intends to take a similar step.

A USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs spokesperson told TASS: "We welcome such a development of events in El Salvador and feel that it will lend new impetus to the talks being held between the government and the FMLN, and that it will create the conditions in which the current round of talks may conclude by reaching final accords on a peace settlement in this Central American country. Together with other interested states and also the United Nations, we are prepared to continue to lend assistance in terms of all kinds to efforts aimed at a speedy attainment of these goals."

Delegation's Visit, Cuban Talks Viewed

PM1911132591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Nov 91 Union Edition p 7

[Correspondent A. Kamorin report: "Our Brigade Leaves, U.S. Base Stays..."]

[Text] Havana—A delegation of Soviet diplomats and military men has arrived in the Cuban capital. They will have hard talks ahead.

As is well known, the Soviet leadership's decision to withdraw our brigade from Cuba—it has been there since the Caribbean missile crisis of 1962—was announced in Moscow without any preliminary agreement with the Cuban side. This prompted a very sharp and irritated reaction from Havana. Feelings have subsided somewhat following the agreement to hold Soviet-Cuban talks.

The delegation, which is headed by special envoy V.A. Ustinov, will be putting this agreement into practice. It must be said that the leader of the Soviet mission is very familiar to the Cuban partners, above all, for his cooperation in settling the conflict in southwestern Africa. Admittedly, that was a question of the Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola, now it is a question of our troops' withdrawing from Cuba—which substantially changes the emphasis in the sides' positions. However, judging by the optimistic tone of V.A. Ustinov's talks with journalists, he is confident of the possibility of reaching mutual understanding.

Answering a question about whether the fate of the Soviet military presence in Cuba as a whole was touched upon at the talks, the envoy reported that, although his powers are restricted to the brigade, this does not rule out the possibility that other subjects related to this issue could be discussed.

This explanation by the ranking Soviet diplomat is important. The point is that, in the opinion of many observers, the current talks should inevitably address a wider range of the problems of Soviet-Cuban military cooperation. In particular, the question could arise of the future of our major electronic intelligence-gathering station on the island. Moreover, lately the Cuban side has preferred to talk about the Soviet military presence on its territory purely in general terms. This is not a question of style: Havana is closely linking our troop withdrawal to its demand for the removal of the U.S. naval base in Cuba's Guantanamo Province. The Cuban Government has stated that the only fair solution to the problem would be a simultaneous withdrawal by our soldiers and U.S. soldiers under UN control. This point will clearly be a "tough nut to crack" at the forthcoming talks.

I believe that the Cubans too understand this, but there is a logic to their insistence. We would recall that the problem of the brigade is rooted in the history of the Caribbean crisis. The brigade was situated on the island as a kind of guarantee against an attack on Cuba by the United States—the presence of a Soviet military unit in the country would automatically turn the Soviet Union into one of the warring factions. Deprived of this guarantee, Cuba is striving to compensate for the loss, and the trade-off of the brigade for the base strikes it as sufficient compensation.

How will this matter be settled? Does the Soviet Union consider it possible to find some way to make good the damage to Cuba's security in the military sphere? The talks will tell.

U.S. Said Seeking Cuba's Economic Paralysis

PM1911103791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Nov 91 p 5

[Commentary by Pavel Bogomolov: "Depriving of Oxygen"]

[Text] The Straits of Florida, which separate the Republic of Cuba from the United States, has again become the sphere of an unfavorable climatic anomaly. True, this has nothing to do with surprises on the weather front, but with the zigzags of the political climate, which is unpredictable in the Caribbean tropics as it is.

No special causes for the cyclone have been observed, it would appear. On the contrary, symptoms of a gradual slackening of the tension and a reduction of the foreign presence in the region have appeared. Soviet-Cuban talks on the withdrawal of our motorized infantry training brigade from Cuban territory have begun in Havana. In this connection very little was required from Washington at this time—simply that it support such a complex dialogue, burdened down as it was by so many

preliminary conditions. Not even to support it with dollars, but with moral-psychological support, by lowering, if only for a short while, the intensity of its anti-Castro rhetoric.

Facilitating this, Cuba agreed to remove from the agenda of the current session of the UN General Assembly a draft resolution condemning the U.S. economic, trade, and financial blockade of the Republic. Thus yet another chance to overcome the deadlock in U.S.-Cuban relations presented itself. But nevertheless...

"...We do not want to give the Havana regime oxygen," Bernard Aronson, U.S. assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs stated, with a hostility worthy of the worst times of the Cold War. The concept with which he invests the word "oxygen" is obvious: It refers to Cuba's attempts to find on the world credits, investments, and technological market an alternative to CEMA, now that the latter has collapsed.

Addressing an international trade fair in Havana recently, Fidel Castro, in the colorful assessment of the NBC TV company, "proclaimed the opening up of the island to world capital." And this is not simply propagandistic mouthing—Spain alone has invested $150 million in the construction of a four-star holiday resort on Cuban's northern littoral. Not wanting certain Latin American capitals to follow Madrid's example, Washington diplomacy has just dispatched its stern written warnings across the continent.

And so, Havana is conducting talks on the withdrawal of Soviet troops, albeit without any special enthusiasm, softening its anti-U.S. position in the United Nations, and creating most-favored status for foreign entrepreneurs. But meanwhile, Washington... is growing even more angry at its excessively "shifty" southern neighbor, and wants to cut off its vital oxygen supply. Isn't that a fine paradox, one may ask oneself.

Let us recall for comparison that the withdrawal of Soviet troops from East Europe and Afghanistan, or, for example, the evacuation of Vietnamese soldiers from Cambodia were uniformly applauded in the United States. Indeed, only recently, on learning of Moscow's decision to pull its brigade out of Cuba, the White House reacted positively. So why not repeat that applause today, at the moment that it is most needed, so that it is heard in Havana too? And at the same time think about the possibility of, one day at least, eliminating the U.S. base at Guantanamo.

Unquestionably, the real conditions of life for ordinary Cubans and observation of their civil rights is far from ideal, like much else in Cuba. But all this in no way justifies Washington's fervent effort, hardly compatible with the status of a great power, to "squeeze" its opponent at all costs, condemning it to hunger, suffering, and social upheavals. Some people evidently want to obtain certain changes in Cuba, not rationally and gradually, but at any price, even if it is the price of complete paralysis of the Cuban economy.

Such an approach to the problem is too cynical and intrinsically cruel. It contrasts too much with the current global political warming, including the favorable shifts in U.S. foreign policy in Europe and Asia. The consequences which pathological hatred toward the island could have are too dangerous; this island which is overcrowded with huge stores of modern weapons, and which is capable of changing for the better only gradually, and not in the convulsions of oxygen starvation.

Political & Social

Shevardnadze New External Relations Minister

LD1911171491 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1700 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] As always at this time we tell you what IZVESTIYA reporters write in today's Moscow evening edition of the paper. But before that, we will tell you about decrees of the USSR president.

According to these documents, Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze has been appointed minister of external relations of the USSR.

Boris Dmitriyevich Pankin has been appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the USSR in Great Britain, and is released from his present post and confirmed as member of the Political Consultative Council under the USSR president.

Several Ambassadors Relieved of Duties

LD1911135291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1314 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow, 19 Nov (TASS)—The USSR president has relieved USSR Ambassadors Aleksandr Baryshev in Guinea-Bissau, Leonid Zamyatin in Great Britain, and Lev Voronin, the USSR representative to the EC in Brussels, Belgium, of their duties in connection with their retirement on pension.

The USSR president has relieved USSR Ambassadors Yuriy Dubinin in France, German Gventsadze in Ireland, Anatoliy Slyusar in Greece, and Nikolay Uspenskiy in Sweden of their duties in connection with their transfer to other work.

Yuriy Pavlov has been relieved of the duties of USSR ambassador in Chile in connection with his retirement.

Gorbachev Warns of 'Mighty Protest' by Populace

LD1911033191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0040 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow, 19 Nov (TASS)—"The issue of the state has been our main issue for a long time. I am in favor of reforming the state and of preserving the state," USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev stated in his conversation with Rolf Schmidt-Holtz, editor-in-chief of STERN magazine, according to the NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA newspaper, which publishes excerpts today of the conversation. The USSR president's press service supplied the newspaper's editorial office with a shorthand record of this conversation, which took place on 16 November. STERN magazine will publish its own version of the interview on 21 November.

Welcoming Russian President Boris Yeltsin's forthcoming visit to Germany, Gorbachev expressed, during the conversation, support for the Russian president's stand "in favor of creating a new union, a union of sovereign states." Yeltsin is in favor of "reforms being implemented in cooperation with all the republics." "This means that the Russian president will have to cooperate with the Union authorities, as they all will" the USSR president stressed.

In his opinion, the new union must be a union of sovereign states. "It must be a confederation, a confederative, democratic state, with united Armed Forces, a single territory and citizenship, a coordinated foreign policy, and a common market functioning on coordinated principles: This means a banking union, a currency, a pricing policy, and so on. This state must have a president elected by the citizens, who must be the head of state, and there must be a government...," Gorbachev believes.

Explaining his stand regarding the republics, the USSR president expressed support for "self-determination, sovereignty, the decisive redistribution of functions in the republics' favor, and the scrapping of bureaucratic structures." At the same time, Gorbachev emphasized the need to keep the social and economic state of affairs in the country under control to prevent a further deterioration of the food situation. "If the slump in production continues," he pointed out, "dissatisfaction among the people will intensify, and it could take the form of a mighty protest. That is very dangerous."

Fears 'Dangerous' Crisis

LD1811140191 Berlin ADN in German 1222 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] Hamburg (ADN)—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev fears there will be serious social unrest in his country this winter when the supply situation further worsens. In an interview for the latest edition of the Hamburg STERN magazine Gorbachev said: "If we don't get the social and economic situation under control, if food becomes even more scarce, the bitterness among the people will increase further. And this bitterness could culminate in a violent revolt. That would be very dangerous for everyone." The crisis can only be got under control, "if now, in addition to all the supply difficulties, the union does not fall apart." Gorbachev added: "We are standing on a precipice. Worse still, we can even see down into the abyss."

At the same time he threatened he would resign if the reform of the Soviet state structure does not succeed. "I can assure you that an amorphous structure which no one needs is not acceptable to me. I will not be part of such a development." The state indeed needs to be reformed but its cohesion is for him, Gorbachev, of "highest priority." Now people are starting to "destroy and break up everything." If the state is liquidated, then human relations break down.

The president stressed that he will decisively counter "separatist ambitions" and added: "For me it is a question of life and death." The reformed Soviet Union

must be an association of sovereign independent democratic states in a confederation, "with joint Armed Forces, nationality, agreed foreign policy, and a unified market."

This union should have a strong president elected by the people. He should "not be just a puppet figure, someone merely to put on a show." He does not yet know whether he will stand for this office himself. However, he did make clear that "this model is not tailor-made for me."

The Russian president, who is expected in Bonn on Wednesday [20 November] for his first official visit, is playing "the leading role, the main role" in the shaping of the new union, according to Gorbachev. However, around Yeltsin there is "a struggle under way—everyone is attempting to influence him." His personal relationship with Yeltsin improved several months ago and particularly following the coup, after it had worsened for a while "in the mire of political struggle." He is certain that Yeltsin will represent "our agreed policies" in Bonn. "We agree that we cannot have eight or 12 foreign or interior representatives in the Soviet Union. Nobody usually wants to have anything to do with that kind of state."
(The interview was pre-released in an edited version).

Gorbachev Cited on Progress Toward New Union

PM1811144191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Nov 91 Union Edition p 1

[G. Alimov report: "Get Used to the Words: Union of Sovereign States (USS)"]

[Excerpts] The event which took place at Novo-Ogarevo near Moscow 14 November can be called hopeful. The seven sovereign republics which took part in the State Council session advocated the creation of a new political union. It was a kind of sensation. Recently few people had believed in the resumption of work on the Union treaty—at least in the near future. Nonetheless life itself is sorting everything out. Many republics have grown used to the conclusion that it will be impossible to make any progress without a political union.

The State Council members devoted most of their time to exchanging opinions about the status of the future union. Three options were examined: One was simply a union of sovereign states without its own state formation. Another was a union with a centralized state authority—federal or confederal. And a third option was a union carrying out certain state functions but without the status or name of a state. Several compromises were discussed. The participants finally agreed that the Union of Sovereign States [USS] would be a confederal state carrying out functions delegated by the parties to the treaty. [passage omitted]

Agreement was thus reached on the main point—that a state, a subject of international law, would come into being. However, the future USS (for that will be its name) will not have its own constitution. Its place will be taken by the Treaty on the Union of Sovereign States. Questions of citizenship—it, too, will be Union-based—are being worked out. The Union will have its own two-chamber parliament and a government. As for the Interstate Economic Committee (IEC), it will operate as a government organ in the transitional period. Apart from a prime minister, the USS Government will include deputy premiers and ministers of Union departments which will be retained under the provisions of the new treaty.

The State Council also thoroughly discussed the question of what the republics' role would be and what the new center would be like. In Mikhail Gorbachev's opinion a "huge redistribution of powers" is expected in this area. The republics are categorically opposed to the old center being revived under the pressure of certain circumstances. "I share that position," the USSR president stated, "but on one condition: The new state should have effective authority and powers."

The USS will also have its own top individual—a president. It is also planned to institute a vice presidency. The USSR president will be elected by citizens of the republics making up the Union.

Of course, all these questions have so far only been given a once-over. There is still a great deal of work to be done on them. After all, the current draft Union treaty and the draft which was ready for signing 20 August are fundamentally different from each other. But many of the fundamental points of the new treaty have been discussed and agreed in principle. The State Council members are planning to meet again to discuss any outstanding problems. But a date for the session has not yet been set.

Answering an IZVESTIYA correspondent's question about the possible timetable for the conclusion of the treaty on the USS, M. Gorbachev said:

"We will want to move this process forward as quickly as possible. But at the same time we must not rush. Following the next State Council session the main process—which will be spread over some time—will get under way. But the main thing is not to lose our momentum and get bogged down in political battles."

The draft treaty will also have to be examined by the republics' Supreme Soviets. If they approve it, it will come into force immediately after the treaty is signed by the plenipotentiary delegations.

...It is said that during the discussion on the name of the future Union someone noted that "USS" does not sound very good for some reason. "Never mind," B. Yeltsin smiled, "we'll get used to it."

Ministries To Be Reorganized, Merged

OW1811175091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1651 GMT 18 Nov 91

["Diplomatic Panorama" report by M. Mayorov and I. Porshnev; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to the reform approved by the State Council on November 14, the USSR Foreign Ministry will be reorganized into the Ministry of Foreign Relations of the Union of Sovereign States and perform part of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations' functions. USSR First Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy told journalists in conjunction with this that the Union of Sovereign States needed a ministry for carrying out its foreign policy. The Ministry of Foreign Relations will be the successor of the USSR Foreign Ministry and of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations" in the part dealing with the commitments which derive from trade and economic agreements."

Mr Petrovskiy said that the Ministry of Foreign Relations would be an inter-republican body drafting and implementing the sovereign states' uniform foreign and trade policies. Special importance will be attached to the mechanism of inter-republican dealings in the foreign policy sphere. "Coordination between the republics is becoming particularly important," stressed Mr Petrovskiy, because the new ministry will act on behalf of both the Union and the republics.

With this end in view, the ministry will have what Mr Petrovskiy described as "an independent body" that would concentrate on inter-republican dealings and "coordinate the common interests of the Union and the specific interests of the republics."

The new ministry will give priority to global problems, above all to cuts in nuclear and conventional armaments, trust-building measures, non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, strategic stability, ways of settling conflicts, conversion, cooperation in the most advanced technological branches, human rights and environmental protection.

It was announced that after the merger, the two old ministries' staff of about 5,000 will be cut down to 2,700. Mr Petrovskiy said that cuts would affect those who have reached the pensionable age (60), who decide to move over to republican bodies and "who had been imposed on the Foreign Ministry during the period of totalitarianism."

To reduce expenditures, at least a dozen embassies and general consulates would be closed down, and the staff at 20 embassies would be cut down. From now on, trade missions will carry on as departments attached to the embassies.

The embassies will represent the interests of the confederate state, with the sovereign republics' sections of interests attached to them.

Commerce, Industry Chamber To Join Group

OW1811193191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1838 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] It was found expedient at a meeting of representatives of the Union and republican chambers of commerce and industry to put an end to the operation of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry. Participating in the meeting were executives of chambers of commerce and industry of Azerbaijan, Belarus [Belorussia], Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, the Ukraine, Latvia, Estonia and the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

The participants decided that it was necessary to set up a Confederation of Chambers of Commerce and Industry on the basis of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry. They agreed that the chambers of commerce and industry shared common tasks as non-governmental organisations that should promote the development of market economy in the common economic space.

The confederation of the chambers of commerce and industry must become successor to the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry that will be built on the principles of equality and voluntary association. Its top executives will be appointed by rotation from the republican chairmen.

It was decided to hold a congress of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry not later than January 1922.

Warning of 'Chaotic' End to Union Ministries

PM1811153091 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Nov 91 Union Edition pp 1-2

[D. Khrapovitskiy article: "Union Ministries: Last Days"]

[Text] The Union ministries, which grew out of the pursuit of the mirage of nuclear missile parity in the sixties and seventies, are to leave the theater of economic operations on 15 November 1991. How will this happen?

The girl in the inquiry office of the former USSR Cabinet of Ministers could not answer when I asked which Union ministries are still de jure in existence and which have already turned into concerns, associations, and so forth.

"Talk to Khadzhiyev, the USSR minister of the chemical and petroleum refining industry, who behaved so well during the putsch. He's sure to know...."

During the August days Khadzhiyev certainly took t side of the rule of law, we remember. He flew in from Groznyy on 20 August, summoned his collegium, and

announced: If the Supreme Soviet supports the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency], I will resign....

The minister was not at the USSR Ministry of the Chemical and Petroleum Refining Industry. He is still in hospital after an operation. I tried the other offices at the ministry. Two days before the abolition of Union ministries, the civil servants here were not locking their offices or getting drunk. They did not know what fate the state had in store for them, if any—they were getting their information only from the mass media. The majority of them did not appear delighted when they spoke of how, for a long time now, they have been offered a new life by commercial structures where they will receive huge salaries.

Union ministries in our country were abolished once before. But after a seven-year period when the sovnarkhozes [regional economic councils] played their part on the economic stage, the ministries were revived. This was required not by the economy, but by politics, where the aim was to achieve nuclear missile parity with the Americans. As for the economy, let me remind you of one point: Under the sovnarkhozes the pace of housing construction increased rapidly, because resources were controlled locally. But "parity" required a strict center. In 1965 Kosygin brought the 50,000 best directors and specialists from the enterprises to Moscow. He expected the new people to be able to breathe new life into the old structures and create such an efficient centralized management system that there would be sufficient resources for both "parity" and consumption.

This hope was not justified. And the old structures ground down the new people.

"We are by no means in favor of preserving the ministries with the old functions. There is already the law on the state enterprises, and privatization and the sale of shares are inevitable," Deputy Minister V. Razumov said. "But the sector's enterprises, whatever form of ownership there may ultimately be, will still have to work not only for their own profit, but also for national priorities."

And so some degree of state regulation and state coordination will be needed anyway. To prove his point, Razumov produces a map of the country. One of the many things that could make our life a little easier today is refrigerators. But you cannot make them in, say, Belarus, if you have no polystyrene, which is made in Kazakhstan. Kazakhstan cannot produce polystyrene unless ethylbenzene is supplied from Tataria. They cannot make ethylbenzene in Tataria if they have no benzene. And benzene is made from petroleum, which is extracted mainly in Tyumen.

That is roughly the system that is currently just about managing to supply plastic for refrigerators. It could easily be destroyed. The people in Tyumen will sell independently a little more of their petroleum, the refinery workers a little more of the benzene produced from their reduced quantity of petroleum, and so on, with the quantities being reduced at each stage of the production of plastic. And it could easily turn out that the end result is that we get no refrigerators.

In the developed Western economies such links have persisted on a market basis, and that is why refrigerators, for instance, are plentiful there. In our case, internal economic ties of some kind must be maintained until the emergence of market structures (and even then it will be necessary to protect them from disruption—naturally, by methods appropriate to a market economy). After all, this is in everyone's interests—wherever we work. Suggestions that in a market economy state regulation will wither away entirely are mere bluff.

"In recent months," Razumov says, "we have proposed to the government several options for the formation of new structures to replace the ministry, structures appropriate to the market idea and safeguarding state priorities in our sphere. No suggestion of a monopoly. Many proposals came from the enterprises themselves, which have already grasped that it is time they united on a new footing. But there was no response...."

Relations with the Russian Government are also lacking in clarity. It was assumed that the ministry of industry would have a department of petrochemicals and petroleum refining (with 100-150 people). Now it is not clear whether this will happen. Is the Russian Government prepared to take on even its own share of sector problems? The problems that now exist in the sector, primarily problems with raw and other materials, equipment, and spart parts, and export and import problems, are not going to disappear after 15 November. Nothing has yet come of the fact that a list of enterprises was recently handed over to Russia "under the act." And there has yet to be an official document on the abolition of the Union ministries this morning.

But there is another problem, too. Not only is it unclear what form the state structures will take, it is also unclear how the potential accumulated by the cadres will be used, and indeed whether it will be consciously used. Remember the 50,000 of 1965. At that time many of them quickly realized that they had been put in charge of a gold mine of distribution. The majority of them became real professional civil servants in only a few years. When, all at once, it became clear that the newfound intuition is far more use than a whole heap of reports when it comes to determining what is the true potential, rather than the planned potential, of a particular enterprise and what links between interlinked producers might prove to be more efficient than those that currently exist.

This intuition cannot be checked against a computer program or "formalized." In the West professionals similar to our best—I repeat, best—civil servants are concentrated in commercial consultative and mediation structures, producing considerable profits. There are tens of thousands of these firms. The development of

events is now frankly driving us to set up a network of consulting firms. At the Ministry of the Chemical and Petroleum Refining Industry the number of civil servants has in the last two years been cut from 3,000 to 900, and those that remain could be described as the best.

But the abolition of the Union ministries is now taking place in such a way that it could result merely in chaotically "throwing out" people who have a professional knowledge of the conditions of economic activity. First, we are condemning ourselves to panicking in the near future and forming new state structures out of novices. Second, we are robbing ourselves of an opportunity to accelerate progress toward the market. I have mentioned consulting services. But we have so many other spheres in which "bureaucratic" cadres will be required as we progress toward the market. Take the taxation system. We have about 300,000 tax inspectors. In the United States there are 2.5 million. Manning these new spheres should become a state priority, because no privatization is going to "work" without them.

Of course, people will not just disappear. Only a couple of years ago, with strict centralization, some 500 billion economic operations were carried out annually in the country as a whole. Tomorrow, as our economy becomes a market economy made up of small cells, there will be several times more of these operations. The best civil servants should and will become involved here, having been forced to change the scale of their skills.

As the economy changes from management by decree to management by motivation, we will have a lot to learn. For most of us today, entering the market system and embarking on concrete economic activity is like starting to read a book in English, with no preparation. When there is no translator at hand, dictionaries are needed constantly.

Gorbachev Adviser Views Confederation Talks

PM1811154791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Nov 91 Union Edition p 1

[Interview with Doctor of Legal Sciences V. Yakovlev, the USSR president's state adviser on legal policy, by IZVESTIYA observer V. Shchepotkin; date and place of interview not stated: "A Confederative State. What Are We Creating This Time?"]

[Text] [Shchepotkin] Late in the evening of 14 November millions of television viewers watching the news saw and heard a news conference involving participants in the latest round of talks in Novo-Ogarevo, who had previously been discussing the concept of the future union treaty. All the leaders of the seven former republics—now sovereign states—who spoke stated clearly that a union would be formed. So there appear to be no questions on that score. Their question concerns something else: What form can a union take, and what will it represent?

[Yakovlev] The participants in the talks could only be so clear because they had agreed on the main thing. The **concept** of the future union. The treaty is being concluded by sovereign states. That is one thing. And they are forming the Union of Sovereign States. But what kind of union is it? A concept emerged here which the country's President M. Gorbachev spoke about in his address. A confederative democratic state exercising the power voluntarily vested in it by the parties to the treaty.

This concept, it seems to me, needs a certain amount of deciphering and detailed clarification. Earlier, we said that our union represented a federative state. That was how the Constitution defined it. In fact that union was rather a unitary state with something of a federative appearance.

[Shchepotkin] So does that mean that the actual concept of the union is now changing?

[Yakovlev] Yes. It will now be a confederative state. And that is what the main discussion was about. As you heard, B. Yeltsin said at the news conference that three concepts of the union were in fact discussed. The union as a federative state. The union as a confederation. And third, the union without any indication of what it will represent.

The second option was chosen. **The confederative state.** I think that this formula is a compromise. Some participants in the talks defended a confederation without any kind of statewide system, others tended toward a federative state. As a result, this compromise option was worked out.

[Shchepotkin] Forgive me, Veniamin Fedorovich, lawyers and political scientists may find all this comprehensible: federation, confederation.... But what about everyone else? The millions of citizens who suffer in waiting lines, and who are slighted just because they are of the wrong nationality—how can we explain to them what tomorrow's union will be like and what we can expect from it? We have always been told that we live in a federation, and until recently everyone, including the highest statesmen, maintained that the new formation would be federative to a great extent. And now there is this confederation.... What is it?

[Yakovlev] I think that in this case you cannot place the two things in opposition to each other: the confederation and the state. Although certain lawyers will probably maintain that it is impossible to have a confederative state. If we look in textbooks, then we will find the following definition: a confederation is a union of states, whereas a federation is a union state. But it seems to me that the great wisdom of the participants in the Novo-Ogarevo process was in that they did not take the formal path. They proceeded on the basis of life, which is far richer than academic outlines. And if you reason like that, then the confederative state which the participants in the talks agreed on is possible. I was in Luxembourg recently, and familiarized myself with the European Court and clarified what the EC is as an organization. I

received a reply from the most highly qualified lawyers: The European Community is a confederative union of sovereign states with many elements of a federation.

It is possible for us to have something similar. Each of the states that form the union is sovereign. But at the same time, they will have things in common. Well, first of all, the territory. A state must have a common territory. Will the union have this? Yes. Each republic will have its own territory, but there will also be the united territory. Second, the borders. Will the union have common borders? Yes. Will there be union citizenship? Yes, each republic envisages its own citizenship, but at the same time there will also be all-union citizenship. All these are attributes of a common state.

Finally, there is one more aspect: The powers and structure of the authorities. The republics have determined the spheres which will be run jointly. That means that they will transfer some of their powers to the union, and all-union organs will be needed to implement them. For example, a representative body—parliament. A president. A government, in order to implement the functions delegated to the union, and so on. Furthermore, united organs will be created to run the sphere that republic states have transferred to the union's authority, for example, leadership of the Armed Forces.

Thus the concept of a confederative state is multifaceted.

[Shchepotkin] All this is very good, but I would like to go back to the individual, to the citizen who will read these legal documents. What will this give him? How will the new union protect him, how will it feed him? After all, history is not being made in offices today, it is being made in town squares and in waiting lines. People will understand that the new state, whether it be a federation or a confederation—is a state where people will be valued not according to their nationality, a state where the law will reign on the whole territory instead of lawlessness, and then I am convinced the masses will force the leaders to move in the right direction.

[Yakovlev] That is right. The republic states that will sign the treaty will form a single political, economic, and to a certain extent legal space. Certain laws will only operate on the territory of a particular state, but you have broached human rights, and these must be defended by general norms. Here there must be a single legal space. It is ensured, first of all, by union citizenship, and second, by the Declaration of Human Rights and Freedoms.

So the path that the participants in the Novo-Ogarevo process have outlined is the path toward the formation of a state where both the rights of the sovereign states and the right of every sovereign citizen are fully taken into consideration.

Information on Lukyanov Health 'Confidential'

OW1811172991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1613 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Information concerning the health of former chairman of the Supreme Soviet Anatoliy Lukyanov and others accused of supporting the Emergency Committee is "of a confidential nature and will not be disclosed." Soviet Peoples' Deputy Georgiy Komarov received this answer from the Deputy General Prosecutor of the Russian Republic and the man in charge of the investigation of the Emergency Committee, Yevgeniy Lisov.

From other sources "INTERFAX" has learned that Lukyanov recently had a stroke and was released from the hospital exactly one week later, which treatment does not reflect the serious nature of the ailment. Lukyanov's wife has expressed her concern at such treatment.

TV Chief 'Reluctant' To See Shares Sold

LD1811165991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1036 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow, 18 Nov (TASS)—The management of the All-Union Television and Radio Broadcasting Company has responded sharply and negatively to a suggestion from the Russian goods and raw materials exchange—one of the country's largest exchanges—that shares should be offered in Central Television. This is reported in the latest issue of KOMMERSANT. The weekly says that the company's chairman, Yegor Yakovlev, received a letter from the exchange's chief administrator Konstantin Borovoy demanding, according to Yakovlev, that he should open up television to entrepreneurs. Otherwise the exchange is threatening a declaration of financial war.

Observers believe that the direct reason that prompted the head of the exchange to make this approach to Yakovlev was that television had on several recent occasions declined to accept advertising from the exchange.

In Borovoy's view television could be sold off for 15 billion rubles. His exchange is prepared to acquire between three and 10 percent of the shares.

According to KOMMERSANT, Yakovlev is reluctant to see the owners of one exchange or another running television and playing a leading role in its privatization. Even so, the weekly notes, the chairman of the television and radio company sees a possibility for the Russian goods and raw materials exchange being involved in share-dealing in television, though not at the initial stage.

Groups Established To Probe Past 'Sin'

LD1811200891 Stockholm Sveriges Radio Network in Swedish 1700 GMT 18 Nov 91

[From the "Echo" program]

[Text] The Soviet Union admits today that the Swedish aircraft engaged in radio intelligence which disappeared over the Baltic Sea in 1952 was shot down over international waters. The Soviet Defense Ministry calls the incident a gross violation of the generally accepted norms of international law and expresses condolences to the relatives of the crew. President Gorbachev himself decided to admit that the Soviet Union shot down the DC-3, a high ranking Soviet Foreign Ministry official told "Echo's" Moscow correspondent today:

[Moscow correspondent Sten Sjoestroem] Gorbachev decided personally, on the advice of the Defense and Foreign Ministries, says Sergey Zhuravlev, deputy head of the Second European Department, which deals with relations with Sweden. The attempted coup in the Soviet Union three months ago cleared away those forces which want to continue to keep the lid on, and the Soviet Union is now bent on clearing up all the sensitive chapters existing in, for instance, Swedish-Soviet contacts, says Zhuravlev. Today's admission concerning the DC-3 is part of it. There are other examples concerning other countries. Among them, for instance, the fact that the Soviet Union now candidly admits the Red Army murdered 15,000 Polish officers in Katyn in 1940. This openness, which Zhuravlev says, is in principle a new policy, applies not least in the Wallenberg case, and Zhuravlev, who is directly involved in this work, thinks that they are getting nearer a solution there. However, the Soviet side is also viewing topical matters objectively now, he claims. Defense Minister Shaposhnikov has, for instance, appointed an investigation group which will now, with an open mind, go through all the existing documents concerning the submarine issues, he says. What results they may give, I cannot say naturally, but if we have committed any sin, we will admit it, he says.

MVD Briefing on Crimes By, Against Foreigners

PM1811113591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Nov 91 Union Edition p 6

[V. Belykh report: "Foreigners 'At Risk'"]

[Text] The number of crimes against foreign citizens in the USSR is growing fairly rapidly. A USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] briefing was devoted to this subject.

More often than not, it is foreigners working in our country in line with intergovernmental agreements, studying, or visiting on business who find themselves in the "high risk zone." Of those involved, 85 percent are victims of theft, robbery, assault, or fraud. The "booty" for these "valiant people" is appreciable: computers, video apparatus, clothes, currency.... And in general the risk is small—only one-third of such crimes are solved.

Guests from abroad experience most difficulties in the Russian Federation, Kazakhstan, the Republic of Moldova, and Tajikistan.

Specialists from the USSR MVD believe that the majority of foreigners provoke the unpleasantness themselves. And this is because preventive work is completely lacking. Nobody explains to our foreign guests that relations with a prostitute, for example, which are so normal elsewhere in the world, basically end in theft and a beating in our country. That efforts to do your own little deal can lead to death and injury....

A Finnish electrician from one of the joint enterprises here in Moscow took three strangers back to his apartment—to sell them some video apparatus. They beat him up, took everything, and vanished. In Vladimir, an American tourist was raped after an outing with some chance acquaintances. Again in Moscow, a Vietnamese citizen doing his dissertation at Moscow's Plekhanov Institute of the National Economy was murdered: He was constantly involved in currency speculation and dealt in electronic watches and mini-calculators....

Admittedly it is often the case that the criminal road is traveled by foreigners themselves. In the first nine months of this year they committed 345 crimes. There has been a particular rise in smuggling, where Polish and Vietnamese representatives lead the way (committing over 92 percent of such violations). Moreover, there are often quite unbelievable cases. For example, two Vietnamese tried to take home 23,000 ball bearings, over 4,000 items of electrical goods, almost 5,000 non-ferrous metal products, and 215 items of jewelry—300,000 rubles worth in all, and none of it included on the customs declaration.

Recently crimes once unknown to us have emerged. For example, credit card fraud. They are stolen from foreigners in the Union; likewise they are brought in from abroad. Over 2 million foreign-currency rubles have already had to be paid to victims (by way of compensation).

USSR MVD officials suspect that recently tourists themselves have been selling their "credit cards" to our tricksters. Then a little while later they declare them lost and claim compensation, plus "booty" from the deal, while the purchasers have bought goods during this time with the help of the credit card.

Indeed, with the help of our former citizens, national crime is beginning to conquer the world. There remains practically no country untouched by our criminals. They have even "infiltrated" Latin America. Cars are driven across Europe and then sold in the Union. Our "specialists" are hired to carry out contract crimes, including murders.

Global transactions are also "pulled off." One is being investigated right now. A joint American-Soviet enterprise flooded the country with fictitious contracts purporting to provide work in the United States. Falsified papers priced at between 25 and 40 rubles sold "like hot cakes" and made 170 billion in clean profits for the masterminds behind this deal. Inhabitants of all republics—apart from Kyrgyzia, for some reason—suffered. The tricksters fled abroad....

TASS Carries Press Review for 19 Nov

LD1911114291 Moscow TASS in English 0838 GMT 19 Nov 91

["Press Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow November 19 TASS—The central press continues to discuss the Russian president's recent decrees manifesting a realistic approach to a free economy. "Boris Yeltsin's autumn 'coup'. Ten decrees that shook the world" is the headline of an article in today's KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA pointing out that by signing these documents Yeltsin assumed the fullness of economic power at one stroke.

"Yeltsin's policy seems to be of dual purpose now—to support Mikhail Gorbachev's efforts to create a Union of Sovereign States and at the same time to revive Russia's economic might as soon as possible," the newspaper writes.

Having to his credit such two trump cards, President Yeltsin can well count on particular sympathies from the Group of Seven (G-7) leaders, the newspaper sums up.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA (Independent Gazette) carries excerpts from Gorbachev's conversation with R. Schmidt-Holz, editor-in-chief of STERN magazine.

Gorbachev spoke about the future statehood of the country and of how he visualises a renewed union. "This should be a confederation—a confederative democratic state, with common armed forces, territory, citizenship, a concerted foreign policy, and a single market functioning on agreed upon principles, i.e., a banking union, currency, a pricing policy and so on.

"This state should have a popularly elected president as head of state, and a government," Gorbachev said.

Expressing concern over the continuing production slump, the country's president said discontent among the people might increase and develop into a "vigorous protest".

The excerpts, which are also published by the newspaper TRUD, have been taken from the transcript of the interview provided by the presidential press service. STERN magazine will publish its version of the interview on Thursday, the Independent Gazette points out.

"We shall help the Soviet army to leave Lithuania as soon as possible and will try to arrange the withdrawal without conflicts as far as possible," territorial Defence Minister Audrius Butkevicius told the Independent Gazette.

The Lithuanian minister described principles for the formation of Lithuania's defence system and the ministry's four main programmes—the border guard service, territorial defence, including the formation of a national guard, the raising of a regular army, and civil defence.

"'Shock therapy' on the quiet", writes RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in comment on the liberalisation of prices. The newspaper quotes the presidium of the Council of the Federation of the Independent Trade Unions of Russia as pointing out "the illegitimacy of a price rise without measures for the social protection of the population".

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA, "referring to reliable sources", publishes a "sensation of the century" about discovery of the world-famed Amber Room on the territory of the former Soviet "military base" in former East Germany by the military intelligence of the general staff.

According to the newspaper, the discovery, made "many months ago", was "immediately reported in written form" to the presidents of the Soviet Union and Russia but the fate of the reports is unknown.

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA points out in particular that both reports "are supposed to have been either witheld by the personnel of the Kryuchkov-headed KGB for the purpose of making its own political capital or shelved inside the arrested archives of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee". It is noted that the Amber Room that was taken out of the country by the Nazis at the end of the Second World War is estimated in terms of value at more than 150 billion dollars.

The same newspaper publishes letters by Valentin Fedorov, the governor of Sakhalin, to the presidents of the USSR and Russia about the problem of Sakhalin and Kuril islands.

One of the letters expresses an opinion about the need for the head of the administration of the Sakhalin region to participate in Russia's and Japan's talks on the territorial issue. The South Kuril islands are an integral part of Russia, points out a letter to Boris Yeltsin.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA reports that a "committee for the protection of the Kurils" has been set up in the city of Kaliningrad near Moscow. "We believe that the president of Russia must promote the protection of Russia's interests in this economically and strategically important region. Our position is that not a single island or a single rock should be given away," committee chairman Vladimir Shmakov told the newspaper.

"One can speak only about a community of republics", Ukrainian parliament chief Leonid Kravchuk told SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA. "There can be no question of any centre," he emphasised. "We shall not ratify any

treaty if there are central agencies of any scope behind it," he stated. At the same time Kravchuk pointed out that relations with Russia would remain among the republic's priorities.

PRAVDA carries an interview with Prime Minister Muhammat Shamiyev of Tatarstan who announced the transfer of 20 enterprises of union jurisdiction, located on the republic's territory, to republican jurisdiction. More than 30 others are being prepared for reregistration. He emphasised that a number of benefits is being envisaged for this category of enterprises, including lowering the 30-per cent taxes to 25 per cent.

The newspaper writes about an instruction by Russian parliament chief Ruslan Khabulatov "on instituting the first Russian university preserve, 'the old university on Mokhovaya Street'", according to which the complex of Moscow State University building there should be handed over to three founders—the recently established Academy of Natural Sciences of the Russian Federation, the mayor's office, and... Moscow University. "The new authorities of Russia manifest striking disrespect for its history and national pride" is how the newspaper comments on the authorities' decision.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (Red Star) newspaper reports that the formation of a republican guard has already begun in the Ukraine on the basis of units of Interior Ministry troops. A national army will be created on the basis of the forces of three military districts.

An army in the Ukraine ceases to be monolithic, the newspaper observes, pointing out that various "committees" similar to the "Union of the Officers of the Ukraine", an "independent association of officers", or homeless officers' committees spring up among the army officers.

The process of transformation of the Union Army into a national one in the Ukraine may turn out to be far from painless, the newspaper believes.

The formation of an Uzbekistan Ministry for Defence Affairs is described in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA by the minister, Major-General Rustam Akhmedov. He said in particular that there will be four deputy ministers while the ministry staff will include 268 people.

Under the rubric "shooting and robbing" the newspaper reports an armed attack on a radio-engineering battalion in Batumi, with about 150 combat arms stolen, frequent instances of thefts of motor vehicles and equipment from army units stationed in Nakhichevan.

In their international news-sections newspapers focus on the situation in Yugoslavia and in the Middle East, the Erich Honecker extradition issue, disarmament and international security issues.

Economic

Ryzhkov Denies Approving Transfer of Platinum

LD1811111591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Nov 91 p 1

[Letter from N.I. Ryzhkov dated 16 November: "Please Elaborate"]

[Text] PRAVDA 16 November this year carried a report citing the DAILY TELEGRAPH to the effect that the Soviet Union has transferred to Switzerland practically its entire stock of platinum. (The information was received through TASS channels—editor's note).

The British newspaper draws the conclusion that this operation was approved by former Prime Minister N. Ryzhkov even before the August coup in order to reliably conceal it from the squabbling republics.

I am surprised that this information was published by the newspaper without appropriate checking with the country's financial organs. In December I will have been out of work for a year and, naturally, I could not have adopted decisions or approved such operations before the putsch.

But now about the crux of the matter. I have no right to give figures for the state platinum reserve. This can be permitted by the country's president, as he did with regard to the gold reserve.

I can say that, compared with 1985 (at the end of which year I became chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers), the platinum reserve had increased by one-third in 1990. Last year's reserves were greater than the annual consumption of this metal in the national economy.

Annually meeting its own needs in full and replenishing the reserve, some of the metal was sold abroad to attract currency funds.

For well-known reasons I do not have at my disposal data in respect of 1991.

N. Ryzhkov.

Confederation of Trade Chambers To Be Formed

OW1911135391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1217 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Spokesmen for the central and republican chambers of commerce and industry held a conference and decided to dismantle the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry. They included the leaders of chambers of commerce and industry from Azerbaijan, Belorussia, Russia, the Ukraine, Moldova, Kazakhstan, Kyrghyzstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenia, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia and their USSR counterpart.

Participants in the conference came to the conclusion that it's necessary to create on the basis of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry a confederation of commerce and industry chambers of states that used to form the USSR. This conclusion is based on the common aims and tasks of commerce and industry chambers as nongovernmental organizations designed to promote free market economy in a unified economic space.

The proposed confederation of commerce and industry chambers will be a successor to the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry. The main principles of its foundation will be equality and free will. Its board will function on the basis of rotation.

It was decided to hold a congress of commerce and industry chambers to be included in the proposed confederation no later than next January.

Macroecon Center Analyzes Jan-Oct Performance

OW1811013891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2221 GMT 17 Nov 91

[From the "Business Report" feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Soviet Business Report October 24 (#101) contained a review of the Soviet economy prepared by the Macroecon Centre. Industrial recession, the review stated, became a stable trend in 1991 affecting almost all branches of the economy The Macroecon Centre is continuing to analyse the economic situation looking at the results of the last ten months of this year.

Macroeconomic Indicators

In the first quarter of 1991 there was a 5% overall industrial recession and the national income fell by lO%. In the second quarter industrial production fell by 7.4% in comparison with the same period in 1990 and the national income by 13%. Over the first six months there was a 6.2% industrial recession and a 12% fall in the national income. The figures for the first 9 months of 1991 were 6.4% and 13% respectively.

Preliminary estimates from the Macroecon economists suggest that from January to October the overall volume of industrial production fell by 6.8% and average daily output by 6.1%. October's figures are almost lO% and 8.3% respectively.

All in all, by the end of 1991 there could be a 12% fall in comparison with the previous year in the GNP of what is still objectively the Soviet Union.

The Money Supply

One of the most serious of the various economic crises to affect the country in 1991, a crisis which in many respects has done much to cause the others, is the breakdown in the money supply system and in the system of state financing. With industrial recession running at the above levels increase in earnings for the first nine months of the current year amounted to 69% of what it was during the same period in 1990. As a result earnings are forecast to exceed spending by a total of 340 bn [billion] rubles by the end of the year. The government's domestic debt is estimated as being comparable with half of the annual gross national income, while the deficit in the state budget is expected to reach 24 bn rubles.

Foreign Trade

The fourth quarter of 1991 should see a 14% increase in foreign trade over the third quarter. But the overall increase for 1991 will amount to only 43.4% of the 1990 level, exports being 54.1% and imports 34.2%.

Oil, Gas and Coal Production

The average daily production of oil and coal continues to decline. Extrapolating from the results of the first nine months of the year the overall production of oil and gas condensate, gas and coal by the end of 1991 can be estimated at 518 mn [million] tons, 811.7 bn. cub. m. [cubic meters] and 638 mn. tons. For oil and coal these figures are substantially below the 1990 levels. One of the main reasons for the fall in production is the worsening problems of financing and maintaining the oil, gas and coal industries, particularly the need to import equipment.

Ferrous Metallurgy

The breakdown in cooperation arrangements, particularly in securing supplies of coal for coking and scrap and waste ferrous metals, have resulted in a substantial loss of production. Rolled sheet production in 1991 is expected to be 98.5 mn. tons, or 13.3 mn. tons less than in 1990. Likewise there will only be 17.9 mn. tons of steel pipes manufactured, which is 1.6 mn. tons less than the previous year.

Engineering

Reduced supplies of metals have naturally done nothing to improve things in the engineering industries. Heavy goods vehicle production will be only 87% of what it was last year, diesel locomotives—80%, rolling stock—88%, and electric locomotives—89%.

Agriculture

Gross agricultural production and industrial commodity production from the agro-industrial complex (assessed in 1991 prices) are expected by the end of the year to be 93% of what they were in 1990; food production will be 91%. The total grain harvest by the end of the year after processing will be approximately 78% of what it was last year (165-170 mn. tons as against 218 mn. tons.)

Reductions in livestock products this year will mean, a fall in the per capita consumption of meat and meat products of 9%, of dairy products—14% and of eggs—8% in comparison with last year.

KOMMERSANT Cited on Rising Inflation

LD1811172691 Moscow TASS in English 1157 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow November 18 TASS - "Average monthly inflation rates in the Soviet Union have increased 4-fold as compared to the beginning of the year," it is revealed in the latest issue of the "KOMMERSANT".

According to the weekly, the amount of money, possessed by the population, increased by more than 35 billion roubles over the past two months. The amount of cash money in circulation grew by 83 billion roubles, i.e. by 63 per cent, since the beginning of the year.

"Since the situation with supplies, prices and incomes differs from republic to republic, money emission was uneven on the territory of the former USSR," the weekly notes. The most difficult situation is being observed in Georgia. In September, 25 per cent of the bank payments there were affected by issuing new money.

The weekly forecasts that the rates of inflation in the country may grow to 650-700 per cent at the end of the year.

Railways Ministry Changes Payment Rules

OW1911042191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2104 GMT 19 Nov 91

[From "Soviet Business Report"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] From November 15, the Ministry of Railways of the USSR will no longer accept rubles [R] in payment for group bookings to destinations abroad. A hard currency 1st class ticket from Moscow to Paris will now cost the equivalent of R16,000 at the current tourist rate of $1=R47.

Explaining the reason for this decision, Mr. Valeriy Butko, the railway minister, pointed to the huge debts owed by the Ministry of Railways to foreign rail companies, at present amounting to $75 million and likely to reach $150 million by the end of the year.

The only way to avoid having to sell tickets for hard currency, the ministry argues, is for the state to provide the necessary resources to pay off the debt. A grant of between $250 and $300 million, says Mr. Butko, will be needed in 1992, if the ministry is to clear its debts and settle accounts with its foreign partners.

3.2 Billion More Cubic Meters of Gas Extracted

LD1811200791 Moscow TASS in English 1250 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow November 18 TASS—Over the last nine months, the Soviet Union has extracted 3.2 billion cubic meters of gas more than in the same period of 1990, the gas supplier Gasprom told TASS. The concern supplies more than a half of the country's fuel.

Since society's demands for gas are growing, the company is considering the possibility of reducing gas supplies to industry and increase its price four times.

Burmah Oil Signs Agreement in Volgograd

LD1911103891 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1630 GMT 18 Nov 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] The Hamburg firm, Burmah Oil, which is well-known in the West, is ready to invest $1 billion in the development of the Russian economy. They are heading a consortium made up of a number of firms from Germany, Britain, and Japan. [video shows a model of a service station with a sign reading "Volgo" in Russian then underneath "Service" in Latin script, shots of this model and a brochure illustrating what is to be on offer to the Soviet motorist, with footage of representatives of the two sides signing official documents and shaking hands]

[Correspondent E. Orlov] It seems that the realization of this enormous project has started with the signing of the first major contract in Volgograd. A local oil refinery is to enter into partnership with Western entrepeneurs. The treaty envisions the introduction of equipment to produce high-quality motor oil of the Castrol brand.

At the same time, the construction of a large automobile service center is to commence. Its workshops are to offer car repair services for all types of cars, including foreign ones. The complex will include a gas station, a car-wash, and a paint-spray workshop. Car owners will be able to take a break in the comfortable roadside restaurant where they will be served in the Western manner.

Representatives of the consortium are planning to build these car service centers wherever there proves to be a need for them throughout Russia. [video shows man being interviewed as representatives of the two sides show the press details of their project]

In an interview after the signing of the contract, the director- general of Burmah Oil, Walter Christian, emphasized that his firm is not counting on instant profit from their investment. They are counting on long-term cooperation and are aiming to help the Russian people to find a way out of the deep economic crisis in which they find themselves and to accustom our country to market relations.

Agricultural

Grain Down 25 Percent; GNP Down 12 Percent

LD1311220491 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 2000 GMT 13 Nov 91

[Text] Leading experts of the USSR Academy of Sciences say that the Soviet Union's grain harvest this year will total about 160 million tonnes, 25 percent below last year's level.

In January through September, the Soviet Union's gross national product was down 12 percent and national income 13 percent.

The country has more than 2 million unemployed.

State Committee Releases Personal Farms' Data

LD1911115591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1128 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Summary] Moscow, 18 Nov (TASS)—The USSR Goskomstat has published figures regarding personal farms. There are over 38 million personal peasants' farms in the USSR, 12 million families of workers and office employees own collective gardens, and 6.5 million families possess collective orchards. At the beginning of this year personal farms had 25 million head of cattle (22 percent of the total amount), 13.6 million cows (33 percent), 16.4 million pigs (22 percent), and 38.1 million sheep and goats (27 percent).

According to last year's data, personal farms produced 31 percent of all the meat produced in the USSR, 28 percent of milk, 27 percent of eggs, 65 percent of potatoes, 33 percent of vegetables and 54 percent of fruit.

Grain Shortage, Import Problems Considered

PM1511152791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Nov 91 Union Edition p 2

[Article by A. Sizov, general director of the "SovEkon" Expert Consultation Center: "Heaps of Unpaid Accounts Instead of Imported Grain"]

[Text] The present crisis situation with respect to grain is not a surprise. Even last year, despite the almost record harvest, state purchases amounted to only about 68 million tonnes—almost 20 million less than the state order. What is more, the proportion of grain sales to the state from the total gross yield was only 29 percent—one of the lowest levels since the 1950's.

Even then it became clear that the state was close to completely losing control of grain procurement organizations. Approaches which were different in principle were required, involving primarily the revitalization of turnover between the city and the countryside by creating wholesale trade markets for both agricultural produce and the means of production, stimulation of nonstate trading and purchasing organizations' activities, and freeing the wholesale prices. But the state, by promptly "feeding" imported grain into the internal market, would have been able to regulate prices fairly effectively. The record harvest conditions provided a more than propitious opportunity for this.

But instead of this, N. Ryzhkov's government went for a rise of purchase prices and the introduction of various supplements which only unleashed inflation without spurring the farms on to increase their sales. The next government "team," headed by V. Pavlov, effectively set in motion the old system of state purchases, and the opportunities to at least arrest the sharp decline in commodity grain sales were thus finally missed.

This year's gross grain harvest on the territory of the former USSR will amount to no more than 180 million tonnes in terms of initial tally—a drop of 57 million tonnes or 24 percent compared to last year. But this still would not mean that the country would end up without bread. However bad it may be, grain production this year will be no less than in the EC countries as a whole. The problem primarily concerns the procurement system's collapse and the growing difficulties with grain imports.

It is obvious today that it will hardly be possible to squeeze more than 42-43 million tonnes of state purchases out of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes. That is almost 40 percent less than last year. Only about one-half of this volume can be utilized for the production of bread, macaroni, and groats. In other words, slightly more than 20 million tonnes will be procured to meet food requirements.

In normal years we have used up 45-46 million tonnes of grain for foodstuffs. This year the consumer demand for bread, macaroni, and groats has risen sharply. After Pavlov's price hike these products, together with potatoes, became the basis of most families' diet. The processing enterprises' demands for flour are growing. More bread is being produced, but there is clearly not enough. Therefore the shortfall of grain for foodstuffs, primarily wheat, is approaching 30 million tonnes calculated over the year. Apart from this, we should not allow the final collapse of stock-raising and poultry farming, which cannot survive without feed grain.

The sole realistic source of compensation for reduced internal purchases is grain import. But the problems of financing, transporting, and distributing imported grain have become much more complex this year.

About 37 million tonnes of grain had been imported into the country by early November. Approximately 30 million tonnes were ordered by the USSR and about 7 million tonnes by the republics. The overwhelming bulk of the grain was bought on credit. Only the republics made partial use of either cash or barter deals, in addition to credit facilities, to pay for what they had ordered. Incidentally, it is not only the 12 republics but also the newly emerged Baltic states which are being supplied with imported grain from centralized purchases. So, for the time being, all republics (states) of the former "unbreakable Union" are living on common credit and breaking off chunks from a single imported loaf.

As for the credit situation itself in the immediate future (its size, time limits, and conditions on which it is granted)—this is an open question. It is primarily a question concerning the EC. A credit of $600 million to the USSR to purchase food in the EC countries was announced back in December of last year. Approximately one-half of it was for grain purchases. This credit

was frozen following the January events in Vilnius. However, in June the EC confirmed a package of measures to give assistance to the USSR. There is confirmation of this but no credit. In the fall the Soviet delegation discussed this question in Brussels. There followed a fresh confirmation and a request to understand that the solution of this question demanded that certain procedures have to be complied with.

This is understandable. Consequently, a decline of import deliveries of grain in the next few months is unavoidable. No more than 6 million tonnes of grain will be brought in in November and December, that is about 3 million tonnes a month as opposed to monthly average of 3.7 million from January to October 1991. The situation with grain imports could have been even more complex if the United States had not met the USSR halfway, bringing forward the date for finally using the allotted commercial credit of $1.5 billion from February 1992 to 1991.

On the other hand, the grain exporters would have liked to have been certain about who would be their contracting party: The individual republics (states), or an interrepublic organ empowered to conduct talks on granting credits.

The recently signed food agreement between the sovereign republics is perhaps capable of stabilizing our relations with Western exporters and making them predictable. It envisages that by the end of this year and in the first half of 1992 the procedure currently governing centralized purchases of imported food will be maintained.

But if the question of the procedure for import purchases has nevertheless been settled, albeit with a delay, the import of grain from across the ocean is on the brink of total collapse. A heap of unpaid accounts for the charter of Soviet ships serving Soviet organizations which trade with foreign firms is already lying at the Vneshekonombank [USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity]. Back in the past, the USSR Cabinet of Ministers resolved that whoever trades abroad pays for transportation in foreign currency. They forgot one "tiny detail"—to include expenditure for chartering Soviet ships in the cost of shipments purchased centrally. As a result, our maritime shipping lines were left not only without foreign currency but even without rubles. After all, their services are supposed to be paid for in foreign currency.

Soviet shipping lines have accumulated debts in excess of $200 million for the transportation of grain alone. Our ships are being arrested in foreign ports.

The question is: What else has to be done to drive the country into a grain shortage?

Agricultural Developments for 2-8 Nov

LD0911060891

[Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR from 2 to 8 November. Source and GMT time of broadcast are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

2-4 November

No fileworthy items monitored.

5 November

According to the Agrarians' Union of Belorussia, disruptions in material and technical suplies and low pay have already resulted in the fact that in nine months of this year, compared to the same period of last year, stock-raising production has gone down in Belorussia by 19 percent. (Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belorussian, 0750)

6-8 November

No fileworthy items monitored.

LATE REPORT from 22 October:

The potato harvest lasted for almost two months on the plantations in the Jewish Autonomous Oblast. The results are not pleasing. The yield per hectare is 33 quintals lower than last year. (Khabarovsk Radio Khabarovsk Network in Russian, 1030)

Agricultural Developments for 9-14 Nov

LD1511014791

[Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR from 9 to 14 November. Source and GMT time of broadcast are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

9-13 November

No fileworthy items monitored.

14 November

The oblast association Novosibirsk-Khlebo-Produkt announced the mass purchases of grain for convertible currency. According to the specialists' estimates, this will mean more than 200,000 tons of additional grain into state reserves. Among the grain purchased for currency are the hard and valuable varieties of wheat, barley, and oats for producing cereals, and feed grain. (Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian, 0800)

Military

Decree Sets Up 'Strategic Deterrence Forces'

PM1811180991 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 19 Nov 91 p 2

[Nikolay Panyukov report: "New Branch of Country's Armed Forces Created"]

[Text] A new branch of the Armed Forces—the Strategic Deterrence Forces [strategicheskiye sily sderzhivaniya]—has been created by decree of the USSR president. Army General Yu. Maksimov has been appointed commander in chief of the Strategic Deterrence Forces.

Our correspondent was informed at the USSR Defense Ministry that the new branch of the Armed Forces is being created on the base of the Strategic Rocket Forces, the missile attack warning systems, the outer space control, the antimissile defense, and the directorate of the chief of space systems.

Aviation and naval strategic nuclear forces will be operationally subordinate to the commander in chief of Strategic Deterrence Forces.

Tanks Linked to Evasion of CFE Treaty

PM181114 1991 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 16 Nov 91 p 1

[L. Krutakov report: "Russia Is Vast, But There Is Nowhere To Hide Tanks"]

[Text] On 3 January 1991 KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA put forward the hypothesis that one of the reasons for E. Shevardnadze's resignation from the post of foreign minister was the secret transfer by the military of a powerful tank grouping to beyond the Urals just before the signing of the CFE Treaty. There were innumerable reproaches from the powers that be. Today this story has reached its logical conclusion.

Some 1,500 tanks in a state of full combat readiness massed at the edge of a forest, ready to start rolling with a clanking of tracks at any moment... This was the picture that presented itself to our photographer only 6-7 km from Omsk. The guard was purely symbolic: There is a checkpoint with gates but no fence and an officer and three young soldiers going through the motions of security procedures. You could just go in, pick a tank, start the engine, and drive off...

True to the behests of Suvorov, Major General A. Kuznetsov, chief of a Defense Ministry directorate (Anatoliy Borisovich refused to give the full title of his job), immediately went onto the offensive:

"I don't see what's sensational about this. The tanks are just standing here and, big deal, some of the paint has come off—we'll spruce them up in the spring. If the equipment had been abandoned, that would be another matter. This is a reserve, who knows what might happen tomorrow? And where would we be without tanks? It's not worth quoting me."

The following picture gradually began to emerge from a multitude of telephone calls and incomprehensible answers.

By chance the chief of one section (whose surname I promised not to reveal) let it slip that the decision to withdraw armored forces from East Europe was made hastily and is causing a lot of inconvenience. And so the trail from the unknown tank concentration extended across the Urals to Europe and led to the CFE Treaty. Incidentally, A. Kuznetsov admitted that the combined tank unit stationed near Omsk is partially made up of equipment from garrisons that have been eliminated in Germany, Hungary, and Poland.

Later things got easier. Through the information service (without explaining the task I had been set and without any mention of tanks) I stumbled upon a certain V. Lyashchenko. And this is what he told me. Under the terms of the CFE Treaty, all equipment stationed on territory between the Adriatic and the Ural mountains is to be destroyed. Only 750 tanks and 3,000 armored vehicles have been earmarked for conversion. The destruction and conversion are to be strictly monitored by European observers and must take place within rigorously restricted time frames (which are unrealistic for our country). Equipment based beyond the Urals, however, does not come within the scope of the treaty. When I laid all my cards on the table, V. Lyashchenko refused to comment, alleging that the matter was out of his jurisdiction; nor did he consider it necessary to give his rank and the title of his job.

The Russian Committee for Defense Affairs was far franker. Having listened to what I had to say, Departmental Consultant Yu. Deryugin gave the following answer:

"It looks very much as if your photographer stumbled across one of the bases where the armor secretly moved across the Urals at night is stationed. The armor was saved from destruction in this way. Although judging by what you have told me, it will not be possible to protect it from theft and destruction. Information from various sources puts the number of pieces of armored equipment hidden in Siberian forests at somewhere around 50,000."

Deputy Defense Minister Interviewed

PM1911115391 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Nov 91 First Edition p 3

[Interview with Army General Yu. Maksimov, commander in chief of the Strategic Missile Forces and USSR deputy defense minister, by Major A. Dolinin; date and place of interview not stated: "Army General Yu. Maksimov: Motherland's Missile Shield Should Preserve Reliability"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] On the eve of Missile Forces and Artillery Day our correspondent met with Army General Yuriy Pavlovich Maksimov, commander in chief of the Strategic Missile Forces and USSR deputy defense minister. The talk which took place, however, was by no means of a "festive" nature. It was devoted to the present and future of the Strategic Missile Forces and the missile men's complex problems.

[Dolinin] Yuriy Pavlovich, the positive changes in the military-political situation which have taken place in the world in recent years have substantially reduced the threat of the outbreak of nuclear war. In this connection what are the role and function of our strategic nuclear forces under the new conditions?

[Maksimov] You are right: The threat of a world nuclear missile war and a wide-scale military conflict has now in practice been reduced to a minimum. But the positive changes in the military-political and military-strategic situation have by no means removed the problem of our country's security. Judge for yourself. The Warsaw Pact has been dissolved yet the NATO bloc remains. The United States has not renounced its "from a position of strength" policy and is leading matters to the point where, to use G. Bush's expression, a new world order will be unipolar with a leading role for the United States on the basis of the conservation of its military and economic might. The main avenues of the improvement of the U.S. armed forces—the priority implementation of long-term programs for the development of strategic offensive arms and the continuation of work on the SDI program—also remain unchanged.

All this makes it possible to conclude that the military danger for our country has not ceased to be a reality. That means that together with political measures, it is sensible to resolve the task of preserving peace and preventing war on condition that military-strategic parity is maintained with a consideration for our state's course toward the substantial reduction of the level of military confrontation. A very important role here also belongs to the country's strategic nuclear forces, of which the Strategic Missile Forces are the basis.

[Dolinin] Right now the country's military-political leadership is studying new approaches toward building the Armed Forces. In your view, what changes will take place in the Strategic Missile Forces?

[Maksimov] You know that within the framework of the forthcoming reform it is proposed to create a system of Union and republic organs of defense. It is proposed to transfer to civilian ministries some of the functions of deciding defense questions. There will be a change in the branches of the Armed Forces and their tasks and organizational and staff structures. In practice many reform measures are already being implemented in the Missile Troops. There is the reduction of a number of formations and units, the abolition of the intermediate-range missiles—a whole class of missiles—the upgrading of a number of units to form complexes with better qualitative specifications, the reduction of the numerical strength of troops and organs of management... The implementation of the Strategic Offensive Arms Limitation Treaty is next in line. And in the near future there will be the creation of a new type of armed forces—the strategic deterrent forces which in addition to other components of the Strategic Nuclear Forces will be based on the strategic missile forces.

The process of implementing military reform will be continued for quite a long time. Here there will be organizational and staff changes and it is planned to optimize the structure of management of troops and weapons. There will be an increase in their combat capability, mobility, tenacity, and ability to overcome ABM systems and strike targets with any degree of defense.

All this should ensure the maintenance of the existing military-strategic parity at a lower level and at the same time the missile forces' reliable solution of the tasks set for them.

[Dolinin] How will these radical changes affect the fate of the present missilemen?

[Maksimov] As of now we have virtually completed the deployment of officers released during the implementation of the treaty on the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. The overwhelming majority have gone to swell the numbers in areas which are at present understaffed or have been appointed to posts in place of those who have been released into the reserve for reasons of age. All this work has been performed without serious rebukes from the officers. Not one of them has been released without pension rights and stipulated benefits, except for those who have discharged for failing to meet the requirements of their posts or who have received a dishonorable discharge. We have the firm conviction that during the implementation of the treaty on strategic offensive arms which has been signed, the fate of each officer will also be resolved with tact and attention.

At the same time I shall stress that as before we shall experience a great shortage of cadres for primary officers posts. That is why any arguments by a certain section of young officers and military school cadets of the missile forces to the effect that they cannot see any future in service are without foundation.

[Dolinin] But today voices are being heard increasingly frequently about the reduction of the strategic nuclear arms right up to their complete destruction...

[Maksimov] Indeed, an enormous nuclear potential has been accumulated in the world which could destroy everything living on earth many times over. Therefore, there is simply no alternative to its reduction, right up to its complete elimination. But here we must not forget the realities which have taken shape in the world. Primarily the balance of nuclear forces between the USSR and the United States and the other nuclear powers. This equilibrium can be destroyed both by the further arms race and by unilateral disarmament. After all it is dangerous not only to climb a steep hill but also to climb down.

In order in the future to reduce still further the threat of the outbreak of war it is essential to ensure strategic nuclear stability by preserving parity of forces. Here the level of nuclear arms should be reduced on a mutual basis. This is now being demonstrated by the United States and the USSR as states with the most powerful

nuclear potential. Subsequently I hope that this process will also be joined by Britain and France. For instance, in the Strategic Missile Forces it is planned to make a 30 percent reduction to the number of missile launchers and a more than 50 percent reduction to the number of warheads over the course of seven years. Stationary missile complexes will be subject to reduction. Mobile complexes which ensure a high degree of tenacity in retaliatory actions, as most fully according with the defensive nature of Soviet military doctrine, do not come under this treaty.

[Dolinin] Political stability is also needed to preserve peace. But the collapse of the USSR is continuing. Will the declaration of state independence by a number of former union republics affect the fate of the country's strategic forces and the possibility of ratifying the treaty on the reduction of strategic offensive arms?

[Maksimov] I am deeply convinced that only a renewed united Union and united Armed Forces of our state can ensure effective sovereignty, independence, and security both for the country as a whole and for each individual republic. On the other hand without the joint efforts of all republics it is impossible to retain a modern army, whose maintenance is no simple matter even for the Union. Still less is it within the economic powers of an individual republic. That is why my opinion of the fate of the strategic nuclear forces and in particular the missile forces is absolutely unequivocal: They must be united, remain for the time being within their existing grouping and be managed centrally. This is also mentioned in the resolution of the fifth Congress of USSR People's Deputies and in the November decision of the country's State Council. That is why in ratifying the strategic offensive arms treaty I believe there should be no substantial obstacles from the republics. Its ratification and implementation accords with their interests since it is one more step toward reducing the nuclear danger for all and the reduction of the level of military confrontation in the world.

We must also consider something else. The resolution of the fifth Congress of USSR People's Deputies instructed the country's president, Supreme Soviet, and State Council to ensure the continuity of power in the transitional period and to observe unconditionally all international agreements and commitments adopted by the USSR, including those on questions of arms reduction and control. So far our country has been and remains a united nuclear power and a single possessor of nuclear weapons. Their proliferation is banned by international treaties and no one is permitted to act in such a way that instead of a single nuclear power—the USSR—several appear within the framework of the country. On the international plane we do not have the legal right to do this.

[Dolinin] Will new problems arise with regard to the provision of weapons and military equipment for the missile forces under the conditions of the conversion of the defense sectors of industry and the market economy?

[Maksimov] Conversion has now encompassed virtually all defense industry enterprises ensuring deliveries of weapons and equipment to the missile forces. Under the conditions of the shortage of consumer goods in our country, the use of this powerful scientific and technical and production potential will undoubtedly make it possible to improve the quality and volume of general-purpose output. But I would highlight two aspects in this problem.

First, to preserve the necessary level for the defense industry in the process of conversion we need a unified state conversion program. Right now its elaboration is being complicated by the lack of a Union treaty and by existing differences in views between the sovereign republics and the center as to the aims and methods of conversion. In this situation it is essential primarily to preserve the existing scientific and technical and production potential of the defense industry and the cooperation in the development and production of missile weapons which has taken shape in the country over a long period. The defense enterprises which produce output solely for the missile forces are now situated on the territories of a number of republics and from the viewpoint of safeguarding the country's security the destruction of their production ties is impermissible.

And the second aspect. The transition to market relations, to contract and free prices under the conditions of the restriction of expenditure on defense create considerable difficulties in the fulfillment of the planned programs for the essential qualitative improvement of the Strategic Missile Forces. In addition urgent measures will be needed to prevent the drain of highly skilled specialists from defense enterprises.

It must be supposed that all these difficulties connected with the transitional period will be overcome with time.

[Dolinin] And a last question, Yuriy Pavlovich. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA readers, remembering the events of those three days in August, are raising particularly keenly the question of the control of nuclear forces. How safe is our country and the whole world today from the unauthorized use of nuclear weapons?

[Maksimov] I repeat my reminder that our military doctrine, which is of a defensive nature, provides for the use of nuclear weapons only in retaliatory actions. During the days of August 1991 no one threatened us with nuclear weapons so that means that they could not be used on our side.

As for the danger of the use of nuclear weapons because of an error or deliberate actions by individual violators or groups of people, then the protection system existing in the Strategic Missile Forces provides multiple safeguards against the use of nuclear weapons and rules out the possibility of one person making a decision and using them without authorization. So that any blackmail or pressure under those conditions was ruled out. In addition through the additional organizational and technical measures which have been adopted the ensuring of

nuclear safety was strengthened even more at that moment and the system for the protection of nuclear weapons functioned irreproachably.

I want to stress that the missile troops are too serious a branch of the Armed Forces to be drawn into any political adventures.

Moscow Commanders Discuss Safekeeping of Arms

PM1511115091 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Nov 91 First Edition p 2

[Colonel F. Semyanovskiy report: "How To Stop the Weapon Thieves"]

[Text] This was discussed at an assembly of commanders of units and formations of the Moscow Military District, held under the leadership of Colonel General V. Toporov, commander of the Moscow Military District. Practical exercises were held for the participants in the assembly, at which they rehearsed questions of the use of technical means of protection and artificial obstacles in the safekeeping of weapons and ammunition. Each officer was presented with guidance, drawn up by the district routine activities department, on monitoring the procedure for guard duty, including the guarding of weapons and ammunition.

Ministry Names Candidates for Personnel Work

LD1511133991 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 2000 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Candidates for posts of assistants to chief commanders in various units for work with personnel were named at today's sitting of the USSR Defense Ministry Commission for abolishing military-political bodies and creating bodies for military training and structures for work with personnel in the USSR Armed Forces. They are: In the Strategic Missile Forces—Colonel Nikolay Moroz, candidate of philosophic sciences; in the Air Forces—Aviation Major-General Vladimir Ovcharov; in the Antiaircraft Forces—Colonel Vladimir Kartuz. Colonel Anatoliy Borodavka, candidate of pedagogical sciences, was nominated for the post of assistant to the chief of the military-construction troops for work with personnel.

Candidatures for these posts in the Ground Forces, the Navy, and the rear of the Armed Forces will be considered at the next sesssions of the commission.

Official Views Future of Prosecutor's Office

PM1811091791 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Nov 91 First Edition p 4

[Report on interview with USSR Deputy General Prosecutor Yanis Dzenitis, leader of the Main Military Prosecutor's Office, by TASS correspondent R. Zadunayskiy; place and date not given: "What Will Happen to the Military Prosecutor's Office"]

[Text] Moscow, 11 Nov—The concept for reforming the organs of the Military Prosecutor's Office elaborated by USSR General Prosecutor Nikolay Trubin has been submitted to the USSR State Council for consideration, USSR Deputy General Prosecutor Yanis Dzenitis, the current leader of the Main Military Prosecutor's Office, said in an interview with a TASS correspondent. The reform is designed to help the Military Prosecutor's Office achieve material independence as well as independence in legal proceedings. Thus, while preserving the Union Prosecutor's Office and united Armed Forces it is proposed to abolish the Main Military Prosecutor's Office and its apparatus.

It is envisaged that a Main Administration for Legal Oversight in the USSR Armed Forces, coming directly under the Union Prosecutor's Office, will be formed to replace it. In this case I feel that its staffers—officers and generals—should be taken off the USSR Armed Forces payroll, and the administration's funding and material and technical support could be carried out by the Union Prosecutor's Office through the USSR Ministry of Defense and other ministries having servicemen on their staff. If the USSR Prosecutor's Office is still abolished, although I do not believe it will be, the most acceptable option is to make the new structure formed in place of the Main Military Prosecutor's Office directly subordinate to the USSR president. For the time being the local organs of the current Military Prosecutor's Office will remain unchanged and will perform their functions, since legal oversight in the USSR Armed Forces and the investigation of crimes which are committed must not cease even for a day. I think it would be right for Military Prosecutor's Office staffers, on the strength of the specific nature of their service, to retain the status of servicemen after being transferred to the USSR general prosecutor's command, while the country's president or Union general prosecutor could award them their ranks. Judge advocates' training must also be continued in special educational establishments like military institutes.

The preservation of military law-enforcement organs gives essential legal guarantees to the servicemen of Soviet Armed Forces units still stationed in other countries of the world or states which have seceded from the Soviet Union, Dzenitis stressed. When servicemen commit military crimes their cases, since they are USSR citizens, will be investigated and reviewed by Soviet military justice under Soviet laws. We cannot permit a situation whereby our soldiers, officers, and generals find themselves abroad without legal protection, he stated.

Another point in favor of retaining the organs of military justice is that they objectively remain the only Soviet law-enforcement organs on the territory of the former Union's other states from which people of any nationality will be able to obtain protection. Thus, during the collapse of law and order structures in Transcaucasian "hot" spots, certain "civilian" cases are already being

investigated by judge advocates at the request of local authorities, Dzenitis said in conclusion.

Commercial Potential of SS-18 Assessed

PM1411122291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 10 Nov 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast: Report by S. Yurakov and V. Rekut]

[Text] [Announcer] The stormy events in politics and the changes in the stores and booths have somehow fenced off from us one of the most important problems whose solution should have a marked effect on our prosperity. I have in mind conversion. There have been many reports on changes in the defense industry but unfortunately so far there have been no results except for secret plants brought to the point of paralyses by hasty decisions.

[Yurakov] Over $10 billion could be earned as early as the current decade on the world space services market. That is the belief of the country's leading economists. And our space rocket enterprises would be prepared to realize these opportunities. Recently the scientific public marked the jubilee of the founder of Soviet military rocket building, Academician Yangel, who celebrated his 80th birthday. Yangel and his successors created in the "Yuzhnoye" science and production association an enormous scientific and technical potential making it possible to create the most powerful combat rockets. In the past the state made enormous expenditures and it is time to return them. Hundreds of these rockets are becoming available as a result of the fulfillment of the strategic offensive arms limitation treaty. After all they could be successfully used for commercial space launches, which would yield up to $100 million each.

[S.N. Konyushkov, general designer and general director of the "Yuzhnoye" science and production association, identified by caption] For instance the SS-18 rockets are potentially fine space craft launchers and we would be prepared to embark on this within the framework of cooperation with the international community but unfortunately there are substantial restrictions from the COCOM committee.

[Yurakov] The coordination committee for the control of exports to the socialist countries, or COCOM, is impeding the import of satellites on the territory of the former Soviet Union . Western countries are stating their sympathy with our economic troubles but nonetheless are not allowing us to earn hard currency. So in what spheres are our partners in the new thinking prepared to cooperate with us? Only the humiliating selling off of resources.

Baltic Affairs

Republics Try To Resolve Energy Crisis

LD1611032291 Moscow TASS in English 2108 GMT 15 Nov 91

[By correspondent Serafim Bykhun]

[Text] Vilnius November 15 TASS—It is practically impossible for each of the Soviet republics to keep afloat in the stormy economic ocean, acting alone. Many economists from the independent Baltic states understand it well. But unfortunately those in power would not listen to their opinion. The attempts of political leaders of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia to coordinate their activity and mobilize natural and economic resources, yield no results so far. In the first place it concerns stocks of grain, oil gas, coal and electric power.

Not long ago ministers of power engineering of the three Baltic countries visited Scandinavia where they endeavored to solve their problems with the help of their Swedish and Danish colleagues. The Scandinavians offered them to buy 200,000 tons of petrol for the sum of 50 million U.S. dollars and assured them tankers will deliver it to the ports of Ventspils or Klaipeda within three days. But where to get dollars? They tried to conclude contracts with Poland for the sale of coal, but to no avail, because Poland asked very high prices: 70 dollars for a ton of sorted coal and 40 dollars for a ton of low grade coal.

According to experts' calculations, the deficit of power resources in the Baltic countries will bring about a lot of problems in the near future, the most serious being that of house heating. Even now houses in Vilnius do not have enough heat as compared with the last year. So far miners from Vorkuta have supplied the Baltic republics with coal at comparatively low prices. But it is not ruled out that strict laws of the market will make miners to reconsider their terms of selling coal.

Estonia

Soviet 'Idleness' Protested to CSCE

OW1811210991 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2011 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Estonian Foreign Ministry has sent a note to the Center for the Prevention of Conflicts, the working body of the Conference on Security and Cooperation [CSCE] in Europe. The note says the USSR is unwilling to begin serious talks on withdrawal of its troops and to carry out the agreements concerning their presence in the republic. The note points out that the Soviet Union's idleness hampers the development of Estonia's independence.

Official: Moscow Violates Withdrawal Accords

OW1811190691 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1805 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Enn Tupp, head of the commission on state protection of the Estonian parliament, told BF [BALTFAX] that "the Soviet Union constantly violates the agreements on the withdrawal of its troops from the Estonian territory".

As BF reported earlier, last week a civil defense regiment was withdrawn from the town of Johvi in the north-east of Estonia. The regiment pulled out with all of its arms and equipment despite the earlier agreement between Estonian Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar and Soviet Defense Minister Evgeni Shaposhnikov under which they must have been left in Estonia for its own forces.

Mr. Tupp said the fact that officers of an airborne battalion withdrawn from the village of Nursi near the southern town of Voru continue to live in Voru arouses concern.

"These officers can very quickly form a strong detachment posing serious threat to Estonia", he noted.

Mr. Tupp said there are no guarantees that "a convoy regiment of the USSR Interior Ministry may also leave Estonia with all of its weapons and equipment". In accordance with agreements between Estonian Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar and USSR Interior Minister Viktor Barannikov, the regiment will be pulled out by July, 1992.

"Moscow feels it has cornered us, since there are absolutely no guarantees that the agreements will be carried out", Mr. Tupp pointed out.

He also expressed the opinion that the West can help Estonia settle this issue. He said that Western countries should understand that Soviet troops' presence in Estonia may ignite a conflict. "That is why the West can exert pressure on the Soviet Union by giving economic aid or granting money for accomodating Soviet officers withdravn from the Baltics", Mr. Tupp said.

Parliament To Introduce Visa Control 10 Jan

LD1911010991 Moscow TASS in English 2025 GMT 18 Nov 91

[By correspondent Albert Maloveryan]

[Text] Tallinn November 18 TASS—The Estonian parliament has decided to introduce visa control throughout the Estonian republican border on January 10.

The temporary regime of entrance to and exit from the republic, which has been approved by the Supreme Soviet, provides for the introduction of border passport control on the Estonian borders with Russia and Latvia.

Documents will be checked at examining posts on roads and bordering railway stations, as well as in trains passing through the border. The passport control will also be made at the airports and sea ports opened for international communication.

The passport control and visa regime on the Estonian-Russian and Estonian-Latvian borders are introduced in order "to upgrade anti-crime actions and prevent illegal migration to the republic," the resolution says.

Thus, the border shall be passed through only in established places and in the established procedure. The government has been instructed to decide what the procedure will be and which documents, alongside passports, will be produced.

The government is also to submit to the parliament a draft law on responsibility for the violation of the regime of the border passing and stay on republican territory.

Border Control Starts 1 Dec

OW1811205691 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2011 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Monday [18 November] the Estonian parliament passed a resolution on temporary entrance and exit procedures and border control. The government has been charged with establishing the procedures and adopting the list of exit-entrance documents for citizens.

On December 1st the border control will be established and on January 10th visas will be introduced.

Beginning from Friday, November 15th, Estonia will introduce the spot check of documents at border posts, a spokesman for the State and Border Protection Department Edgar Aaaro said. He noted that some problems may occur. For example, a few days ago a group of drunk young men stormed a border post in Narva trying to cross the border. As a result, 7 attackers were detained.

Delegation Returns From Russian Trade Talks

LD1611220591 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1500 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] Aleksander Sikkal, our minister of material resources; Kalle Leet, his first deputy; and Riho Sild, first deputy minister of industry and energy, are back from talks at the Russian Economics Ministry. Kalle Leet told ETA that this time they found out exactly what Russia has to offer for trade with Estonia. It will be necessary to determine a list of necessary goods in a range of about 100 to 150 products and calculate the balance in dollars. As production in Russia is in greater decline than had been forecast, everything will be in short supply over there, be it petrol, diesel, fuel oil, or gas.

On Sunday [17 November] a Ministry of Material Resources delegation will go to Uzbekistan for talks. Next week Turkmen economists will be visiting Estonia. This was reported by ETA.

Mission in Moscow Changes Status to Embassy

LD1911074691 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1000 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] Since 15 November the Estonian mission in Moscow is enjoying the status of an embassy. This what Juri Tihase, head of the USSR department at the Estonian Foreign Ministry said to the Baltic News Service. The status of the former mission was changed with a directive of the foreign minister. The USSR has been sent a note to this effect. Juri Kahn, representative of Estonia in Moscow, has been appointed the temporary Estonian envoy in the USSR. The festive opening of the Estonian Embassy in Moscow will take place in the next few weeks once the Estonian ambassador has been appointed. According to Juri Tihase, an ambassador will be put forward for endorsement during this week.

Latvia

Coverage of Protest Rally Criticized

OW1811190491 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1805 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Latvian mission press service in Moscow has issued a statement criticizing the one-sided coverage of a protest rally which took place near the mission's building on Sunday [17 November]. The statement notes that journalists failed to describe the whole picture of the event. Thus, along with appealing to release one of the Riga OMON's [special purpose militia detachment] leaders Parfenov and first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Rubiks, the demonstrators called for the ouster of the Russian and Union leaderships, accusing them of treachery. There were slogans like "Latvians are fascists!", "Russia is above everything!", "Yeltsin is a traitor!", etc. Speakers at the rally voiced similar ideas. Participants in the rally insulted and intimidated employees and guests of the Latvian mission, the statement points out.

Following the claims laid against the Latvian Prosecutor's Office which issued a warrant to arrest Parfenov, on November 13, 1991, it released a statement explaining the circumstances. The statement points out that while demanding from the Russian law-enforcement bodies Parfenov's extradition, the Latvian side took into account that he had permanently lived in Latvia.

Parfenov is accused of committing crimes on the Latvian territory only.

The Latvian mission expresses gratitude to Moscow militia which guarded it during the rally.

Official Reviews Problems, Expectations

OW1811133291 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1130 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] "For the first time over the past 50 years we can celebrate our national holiday in a free Latvia," Mr. Dainis Ivans, first vice-chairman of the Latvian Supreme Council, told BF [BALTFAX] on the occasion of the republic's Independence Day (November 18).

However, as long as the numerous Soviet Army is present in the republic, an army "led by the generals involved in the putsch, there is no certainty that no one would interfere in Latvia's internal affairs," he said.

Despite temporary economic problems, especially the energy and food crisis, Mr. Ivans looks ahead with optimism. In his opinion, in a two years, the situation will get back to normal. He noted, at the same time, that "Latvia's economy, particularly power engineering, should be re-oriented to the West".

Speaking about ethnic relations, Mr. Ivans noted that "no ethnic excesses are expected". "Even in the most dramatic times no such problems existed," he said. "Our people's cultural standards are high enough to avoid irreversible situations," he said. Mr. Ivans noted, however, that he did not rule out conflicts "at the level of political forces".

"We feel a rather strong opposition on the part of the former communists, of those who are close to the faction Equality and call themselves the defenders of the rights of ethnic Russian in Latvia, but who, in actual fact, are setting the Letts against Russians," said Mr. Ivans. To avoid confrontation a "strong layer of centrist forces is needed," he remarked.

Mr. Ivans said he came out in favour of setting up a democratic centrist party and for eliminating the Popular Front of Latvia as a movement "which has tapped its resources".

Speaking about the relationships beteen the Russian Federation and other republics, Mr. Ivans said that all the problems arising in this sphere "can be solved democratically during inter-state talks".

Russia Promises To Resume Energy Supplies

LD1611224991 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1830 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] Andris Gutmanis, deputy minister of economics of the Republic of Latvia, and Ziedonis Blumbergs, first deputy minister of energy, returned to Riga today after holding talks in Moscow with representatives of the Russian Government on energy supplies to Latvia. At the talks the Russian representatives promised to resume energy supplies to Latvia. If Russia does not fulfill its promises to normalize the supply of oil products to Latvia, the Latvian Government will take appropriate countermeasures that could painfully affect the economy of Russia. First Deputy Energy Minister Blumbergs stated this to a Baltic News Service correspondent after his return from Moscow today. Blumbergs also informed the minister of fuel and energy of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic of this.

Foreign Minister Brings Aid From Brussels

LD1711132291 Riga Radio Riga International in English 0700 GMT 17 Nov 91

[Text] Latvian Foreign Minister Janis Jurkans has just returned from a conference of ministers in Brussels where 24 of the world's most advanced nations partipated. Participants had agreed to extend financial aid to Latvia totalling as much 5 million European currency units, or ECUs, on the conditions that emphasis be put on agriculture, energetics, transportation, and finance. The Latvian delegation also met with representatives from the European Community, who expressed their willingness to conduct trade agreements in the near future as well as the opportunity to include Latvia in the European political arena.

Cooperation Agreement Signed With Denmark

LD1511133391 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1830 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Minister of Transport Janis Janovskis today signed a cooperation agreement with Danish Minister of Transport Kaj Ikast. This is the first interstate cooperation agreement, and it is significant that it has been concluded between Denmark and Latvia, because it was precisely Denmark that consistently did not recognize the incorporation of Latvia into the Soviet Union. The new agreement envisions specific cooperation between the two states in transportation and also the transit of trucks. Until now agreement like this has been concluded between the ministries of transport of the USSR and Denmark.

Offical Views Soviet Army Withdrawal

LD1611104891 Riga Radio Riga International in Latvian 0530 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] A brake has been put on the handing over of the buildings and objects occupied by the Soviet Army to the establishments of power of Latvia, with the leadership of the military district announcing that an agreement first has to be reached in interstate talks. Government counselor Eriks Tilgass said that these questions have dragged on. The Baltic Military District has stopped this process, and they motivate their action of not starting the interstate talks. [passage omitted]

The position of the parliament and government of Latvia on this question remains unchanged. In this connection the Baltics cannot wait until 1994.

Talavs Jundzis, the head of the Supreme Council's commission for defense and internal affairs, in turn, expects that the question of withdrawal of the Army, simultaneoulsy with other interstate relations' aspects, could start to be examined quite soon at the talks in Moscow. But the demand by the Baltic Council to free Tallinn, Riga, and Vilnius from the presence of the Soviet Armed Forces as early as by 1 December of this year will not be fulfilled. This is what Talavs Jundzis says:

[Begin Jundzis recording] (?There is activity), but they of course are not as serious as we would want them to be, by a long way. By 1 December, as it can be felt, there is no hope that something will change here.

Mr. Dinevics was in Moscow for two weeks in the hope of getting these talks started. Mr. Dinevics could tell more exactly, I must say, that there is a hope that these would, probably, start in the nearest future. [passage omitted]

The year 1994, when they should begin to withdraw their troops, is completely unacceptable, and there is no point of talking about or considering this. These dates depend on, more properly, they compel us to hurry. It is this unstable situation. On the one hand, right here on the spot, because it was the Army which organized and participated and led, and, so to say, did all the rest during the days of August and the days of January in Latvia. This is one aspect. The other aspect is that those processes that take place in the East, in the end it will be like that, whereby this Army will belong to no one after a time, yes? Therefore, you see, these are the two reasons which are hurrying us. [passage omitted]

The sequence of withdrawing the troops: It is not of little importance to us whether first, let us say, assault units are withdrawn or to start withdrawal, perhaps, with some kind of construction units. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Official Comments on Forming Defense Ministry

LD1711082791

[Editorial Report] Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian at 1701 GMT on 12 November carries a 13-minute report by Latvian Supreme Council correspondent Anta Busa.

Without going into detail, Busa talks about the Supreme Council business and about Godmanis' proposal to reorganize the government, which would have 16 ministries [15 ministries and the position of state minister]. This proposal envisages the creation of a ministry of defense. Busa then interviews Talavs Jundzis, chairman of the commission for defense and internal affairs.

Jundzis says: "Well, it must be said that this is not the only position, because as among the members of the government especially, so also the opinions of some deputies, as I feel, are not that unequivocal. There are various versions.

"Thus, for instance, one of the proposals is—and this is strongly supported by several members of the government—that the ministry of defense should not be formed. It would suffice by forming a ministry of internal affairs and a ministry of border guard.

"At a sitting of the commission for defense and internal affairs today we analyzed this question very thoroughly. And it must be said that our position is completely categorical that in such a manner, if we do not want to tackle in Latvia the problems of defense, then we can indeed solve this question by attaching this function to that ministry, and, so to say, this would then have been accomplished, this could be ticked off as done.

"But before taking such a step it should be remembered that the Ministry of Internal Affairs is short of more than 2,000 in its cadres. So, the Ministry of Internal Affairs has problems that it has been already solving for more than a year, problems such as the introduction of the state language, the questions of armaments, and the questions of material-technical supplies. There are serious complaints; and to my mind, well-founded complaints have also been expressed against the leadership of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

"You see, we must decide whether we want to sink this question of defense, as it is already rather a sinking issue as a ministry, or to tackle this question seriously."

Another proposal was to form a border guarding ministry instead of a defense ministry, but categorical rejection against this was expressed at the commission because the task of a ministry of defense is much more extensive. Jundzis notes his observations during his recent visit to Germany in connection with the Soviet Army withdrawal. There are tasks beyond border guards, and the commission is of the opinion that a ministry of defense has to be established in Latvia without delay.

To a question on the size of the Latvian army, Jundzis talks about a good opportunity of obtaining competent information about the weak and strong parts of the defense conception, because a military expert from the United States, Philip Petersen, who has worked at the Pentagon and now represents the (?Potomac) Fund that studies the military problems connected with the Soviet Union and the Baltic states, has now come to Latvia from Estonia where he had visited for a week, "and he told how these questions are being tackled by the Estonians. They, for example, are planning to form a 10,000-man army, with a possibility to mobilize, in case of emergency, an additional 100,000 men.

"And in this connection we also discussed our concept, because here in Latvia, too, an 8,000- to 9,000-man army is planned. We will also have correspondingly trained reservists, and in case of emergency, we will be able to call up these reservists."

Jundzis notes that this really is a very small army, but the intention is not to form a classical army at all, only a defense force, whose chief task is prevention.

Jundzis then gives his opinion on the proposed minister of state, thinking that this could lead to a very necessary public affairs ministry, and he is generally in favor of the proposed reorganization of the government.

Popular Front on USSR Talks, Elections

LD1611234991 Moscow TASS in English 1753 GMT 16 Nov 91

[By correspondent Valeriy Zaytsev]

[Text] Riga November 16 TASS—The present state power "is unable to eliminate occupation of Latvia and its consequences," said delegates to the fourth congress of the Latvian Popular Front, being now held here.

According to speakers at the congress, the basis for talks with the Soviet Union (or its legal successor) must be provided by the mutual recognition of the illegitimacy of the Soviet power in Latvia from June 17, 1940.

Participants stressed that they would only support Latvian parliament members if they act in conformity with the decisions of the fourth congress of the Latvian Popular Front. As regards elections to the Sejm, which will replace the present Supreme Soviet, they will most probably be held in the spring of 1993.

The fourth congress of the Latvian Popular Front will end on Sunday [17 November].

Popular Front Congress Concludes

LD1711225691 Moscow TASS in English 2240 GMT 17 Nov 91

[By correspondent Valeriy Zaitsev]

[Text] Riga November 17 TASS—The fourth congress of the Latvian Popular Front drew to a close here this evening.

Romualdas Razukas was re-elected as the front chairman. The congress adopted policy documents, in which the Popular Front's principal tasks were formulated as follows: to create the necessary conditions for the Latvian nation's survival, to achieve the withdrawal, as the documents say, of the "occupation troops" and organise elections to the sejm that should replace the present Supreme Soviet of the republic.

In the resolution "on the personnel policy in Latvia" delegates demanded that restrictions be introduced for candidates for senior positions in state bodies. For instance, former officials of the Communist Party apparatus, political workers of the Soviet Army and the Interior Ministry, staffers and informants of the State Security Committee need to be registered. In the next five years, they do not have the right to hold senior positions. It is also proposed that "opponents of state independence be banned from working in state institutions."

73rd Independence Anniversary Commemorated

OW1811222491 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2011 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Today Latvia commemorates the 73rd anniversary of its independence. A ceremony of hoisting the Latvian flag on the Riga castle's Holy Spirit tower took place early in the morning. It was attended by members of the International Organization of free Latvians, the most influential organization of Latvian emigrants, who came to Riga for a congress. The Latvian Popular Front has staged a rally at the center of Riga.

The republican leadership has also organized a number of official celebrations, including a reception for diplomats in Riga.

On the eve of the event Premier Ivars Godmanis warned that the next 8-9 months will be very difficult for Latvia, especially the first three months. He spoke at the closing meeting of the Latvian Popular Front's 4th congress, sharply criticizing the idea of its splitting in several parties in the face of the forthcoming economic reform. Mr. Godmanis expressed doubt that the Latvian Popular Front would endure a shock therapy in the economy.

He indicated three goals essential for economic reform in Latvia: first—free prices, second—national currency and third—withdrawal of Soviet troops.

Lithuania

Cepaitis Denies Serving as KGB Agent

OW1911122091 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1122 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Virgilius Cepaitis, Lithuanian MP [member of parliament] and leader of the Independence Party, accused of involvement in KGB activities by several Lithuanian newspapers, assured the Lithuanian parliament November 19th that he was not a KGB agent.

In the words of Cepaitis, "The times of Vishinskiy are returning in Lithuania, when an indictment was issued mostly on the basis of a guilty plea." In his opinion, this is the beginning of the Lithuanian Supreme Council's collapse.

Cepaitis also announced plans to sue the newspapers in the near future.

As BF [BALTFAX] reported earlier, Vice-Chairman of the Lithuanian Independence Party Gintaras Songaila

had denied reports that Cepaitis was a KGB agent, but had not denied Cepaitis' collaboration with that organization.

Admits Using KGB Codename

LD1611102791 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0600 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] LIETUVOS RYTAS states that, according to available information, at about 1400 yesterday at a meeting of the commission for the investigation of KGB crimes, deputy Cepaitis admitted that he used the KGB codename Juozas. [Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian in a similar report at 1100 GMT on 15 November describes Cepaitis as "an active member of Sjaudis"] But Virgilijus Cepaitis resolutely refused to answer questions asked by LIETUVOS RYTAS.

The Mandate and Ethics Commission decided to propose that a draft law be prepared on the cancellation of the deputy's mandate if it becomes clear that he has collaborated with the KGB. The commission proposes to urgently submit this draft to the Supreme Council.

I think that the case of Juozas is not the only one, Kazimieras Motieka commented to LIETUVOS RYTAS, adding that this week the parliament special commission has received many more admissions than before from former KGB informers.

Justas Palčckis, commenting on this issue, said that each side will try to use these events for its own purposes. [passage indistinct] this proves once again that one must not be too categorical as various unexpected things happen in our life.

Party Official Refutes Allegations

OW1811151891 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1427 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At a press conference in Vilnius, vice-chairman of the Independence Party, Mr. Gintaras Songaila, refuted allegations that this party's chairman, Mr. Virgilius Cepaitis, was a KGB agent.

Mr. Songaila did not deny, however, that Mr. Cepaitis collaborated with the KGB.

These charges were brought against Mr. Cepaitis a few days ago by some of the Lithuanian newspapers which referred to the evidence of an anonymous KGB officer.

Speaking on Lithuanian TV on November 16, Virgilius Cepaitis read out the statement which he intends to hand over to the Lithuanian Republic's Procurator-General.

Mr. Cepaitis states that he perceives the article was published by the weekly Mazoyi Lietuva on November 14 and which accuses him of maintaining contacts with the KGB as "official accusation" of his being a KGB agent and of dealing with a Western secret service.

"As this question affects me not only as an individual, but also as a deputy of the Lithuanian Republic's Supreme Council and chairman of the Lithuanian Independence Party I request that the republic's procurator-general formulate the official accusation," the statement says.

Cepaitus Urges Indictment

OW1811190391 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1805 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Lithuanian Prosecutor's Office officials confirmed that Virgilius Cepaitis, a Lithuanian member of parliament [MP] and chairman of the Independence Party, had urged the republican prosecutor to "issue an official indictment" following a report published in the newspaper "Mazoi Lietuva" accusing him of working for the KGB.

However, Kestas Vagneris, a spokesman for the Prosecutor's Office, emphasized that Cepaitis' request "is unclear since indictments can be issued only after legal proceedings have begun and there is some evidence."

"Deputy-Cepaitis can sue the newspaper if he thinks the report was a slander, but for the present it is unclear what accusations and against whom should be made", Mr. Vagneris said.

Meanhile, Kestutis Betingis, senior investigator of the Lithuanian Prosecutor's Office Criminal Investigation Department, said that a special team had been created to study the case.

KGB Agents May Be Serving in Government

OW1911121691 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1122 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Jurgis Jurgelis, a member of the Lithuanian parliamentary commission investigating KGB activities in the republic, does not rule out the possibility that KGB agents have been inculcated in the present Lithuanian Supreme Council.

Jurgelis told BF [BALTFAX]: "It would be naive to suggest that there are no KGB agents among us."

Jurgelis admits the possibility of KGB agents' presence in the government and other state structures of Lithuania as well.

He described reports on agent "Juozas" in some of the newspapers (according to the newspapers "MAZOII LETUVAN" and "RESPUBLIKAN," it was the KGB pseudonym of Virgilius Cepaitis for many years) as "real facts and not a sensation."

Another member of the parliamentary commission Algirdas Endriukaitis told BF that the commission had

prepared a questionnaire consisting of 12 questions to be answered by all deputies and state officials concerning their possible involvement in KGB activities.

Landsbergis Meets Italian Leader, Pope

OW1811210891 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2011 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Pope John Paul II received Chairman of the Lithuanian parliament Vytautas Landsbergis who is visiting Italy in Vatican Monday [18 November]. Vatican's Press Bureau reports the first nuncio (ambassador) of the pope to Lithuania after 50-year break will be appointed in the near future. According to the Lithuanian radio, Mr. Landsbergis has invited the pope to visit Lithuania.

After talks with Pope John Paul II Mr. Landsbergis met with Vatican's Secretary of State, Cardinal Angelo Sedano.

Before going to Vatican Mr. Landsbergis met with Italian President Francesco Cossiga.

Police Make Arrests in Antiterrorism Raids

PM1811160591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Nov 91 Union Edition p 5

[By correspondent N. Lashkevich: "Series of Searches in Vilnius"]

[Text] On the evening of 11 November Lithuanian law enforcement organs staged a wide-ranging operation during which around 70 searches were carried out.

These were based on certain operational information as well as evidence provided by four detainees, three of whom took part in the 6 November incident at the Shumsk border post which IZVESTIYA has already reported. I would remind you that as a suspect vehicle was being stopped the three men inside put up armed resistance and threw grenades, and it was only by good fortune that tragedy was averted. Only one Territorial Defense Ministry official was slightly injured. It transpired that the men did indeed have something to hide: Apart from their weapons they were also carrying the texts of appeals of a purely political nature. Information on underground terrorist activity in Lithuania was given on 12 November at an evening news conference at Government House by Yu. Matonis, acting minister of internal affairs, Lithuanian Prosecutor General A. Paulauskas, and V. Zedyalis, deputy chairman of the security department.

A. Paulauskas, in particular, stressed that all the detainees, whose ages range from 26 to 44, (their names were not given) represent the same political forces which actively participated in the events of 11-13 January.

Prime Minister G. Vagnorius had previously told deputies at a Lithuanian parliament session that a certain terrorist grouping was operating in Lithuania and that a time would come when details on it would be provided. It seems as though the time has come, although the information from official sources has so far been vague. We know from these courses that underground activities have been engaged in by some former special purpose militia detachment men who remained in Lithuania and have not surrendered their weapons, by a number of workers' militiamen—particularly from the "Yedinstvo" movement—who were active in January, and by former Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee apparatus and Lithuanian KGB staffers. This, in the opinion of the press conference participants, is evidenced by the Shumsk incident, the distribution of agitation leaflets, the raising of red flags in various parts of Vilnius to mark 7 November, and the activities of the clandestine radio stations which law enforcement operatives managed to unmask in time. The aim of the organization, as Yu. Matonis put it, was to whip up interethnic discord, sow disinformation, spread false rumors and various appeals among the population—particularly in eastern Lithuania—and, in general, destabilize the political situation in the republic.

It is hard to say how accurate is the information about the strength of this grouping and the resoluteness of its intentions to stage acts of terrorism in Lithuania. As Yu. Matonis stated at the news conference, from the materials collected one can conjecture that an attempt is being made to set up a single terrorist structure in the USSR. During the searches, which took place in other parts of Lithuania as well as Vilnius, two people were arrested for illegal possession of weapons. One of them was discovered to be in possession of items belonging to Lithuanian TV.

As for the investigation into the events of 11-13 January, A. Paulauskas reported that the names of the 15 organizers of the January operation in Vilnius will be announced in the very near future.

Diplomatic Relations With Mexico Established

PM1811114791 Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 7 Nov 91 p 1

[ELTA report: "Diplomatic Relations Established"]

[Text] Mexico and Lithuania have established diplomatic relations. This is reported in an official communique from that country's Foreign Ministry distributed in the Mexican capital.

It is pointed out that Mexican Foreign Minister Fernando Solana Morales has sent a greetings letter to the Lithuanian Government in which he stressed that the "establishment of diplomatic relations between Mexico and Lithuania could strengthen friendship and cooperation between the two countries' peoples."

The document also states that Mexican interests in Lithuania will be represented by the country's embassy in Stockholm.

UK To Return Gold to Lithuania

LD1811233791 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1500 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] Valdemaras Katkus, first deputy foreign affairs minister, told journalists that the Lithuanian gold in Britain's banks will undoubteldy be returned. [passage indistinct] whose value, according to REUTER, amounts to approxiately $35 million.

Lithuanian and English banks will discuss, in the course of their negotiations, where the gold is to be kept as well as other technical questions. Moreover, the English side has promised to take care of all the formalities by Christmas.

I wish to recall that France has already returned Lithuania's gold and preparations are under way to discuss this question with Sweden.

Federation Affairs

Foreign Ministry on Role in Arms Control Talks

OW1911154791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1449 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Report by Mikhail Mayorov and Igor Porshnev from "Diplomatic Panorama" transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Foreign Ministry expert said that Russia did not view its more radical line than the Union's on the reduction of tactical and strategic armaments as contradictory. According to him, the initiatives of the Russian leadership must be viewed as "a contribution to Soviet-US dialogue on these issues."

The statement was made to DP [Diplomatic Panorama] during the runup to the second round of Soviet-US negotiations on the realisation of interlocking Soviet and US initiatives on nuclear disarmament that begins in Washington on November 25. The Russian Foreign Ministry will participate in the talks, said the ministry. Its delegation will be led by the USSR deputy foreign minister Alexei Obukhov.

The expert said the following to explain the position of the RSFSR: "We are not speaking on behalf of the Union, and nuclear weapons and united armed forces will remain under common control. So in this case the Union poses as the US partner in this dialogue." The republican official also said that Russia's special considerations will to some extent find a reflection in the Union position that had been developed especially for the talks.

Asked by DP, the expert said that Russia would act in Washington on the assumption that the Union must be preserved as a common strategic space. As is clear from Russian President Yeltsin's statements, Russia is ready to move all Soviet weapons to its territory, but this position, said the RSFSR Foreign Ministry expert, "is not shared by other sovereign states."

In addition to Russia, the Soviet delegation will include Ukrainian, Kazakh and Belarus [Belorussia] representatives.

Yeltsin Appoints Representative to U.S.

LD1911160591 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Boris Yeltsin has appointed Deputy Foreign Minister Andrey Kolosovskiy of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic as Russia's special plenipotentiary representative in the United States, the Russian Foreign Ministry's press service has reported. Kolosovskiy has been tasked, in particular, with promoting the development of political, trade and economic, cultural, and other Russo-American ties, and also with strengthening relations of openness and trust between the two states and peoples. Andrey Kolosovskiy will carry out his functions within the framework of the USSR Embassy in Washington with the rank of minister- counselor.

Procuracy Ends Investigation on Data Disclosure

LD1811145791 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Procuracy has completed its official investigation into the circumstances surrounding the disclosure of data from the investigation into the case of the State Committee for the State of Emergency. Yuriy Yudin, chief of the procuracy department for links with the press, told an INTERFAX correspondent that the investigation has shown that investigators from the investigatory group were not connected with the handover of video material to the journal SPIEGEL and can continue working in the investigatory group. On 11 October, the employees who lost their sense of responsibility for the safe-keeping of investigatory materials were removed from their positions concerning the application of technical resources during investigations, the report from the procuracy department for links with the press states. RSFSR Procurator General Valentin Stepankov has instigated criminal proceedings concerning the disclosure of data from the preliminary investigation.

Fedorov Says CPSU Members To Be Tried

AU1911090891 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 19-20 Nov 91 p 2

[Heribert Prantl report: "Gorbachev Will Be Put on Trial"]

[Text] Bonn, 18 November—Russian Justice Minister Nikolay Fedorov announced trials of all former members of the CPSU Politburo and their secretaries. In an interview with SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG Fedorov stated that this legal examination of the past in Russia will last years. Honecker is "a little figure, a babe in arms, compared to our monsters." Fedorov included in this the entire CPSU leadership. The names are "well known." Honecker was only the executor of a will that emanated from Moscow. To the question of whether he also wanted to put Gorbachev on trial, Fedorov said: "I have said everything and have clearly defined the range of people involved." Fedorov expressly warned Gorbachev against disrupting Russian policy.

Before assuming the office of justice minister Fedorov was a professor of legal philosophy. He is considered to be a strong man in Yeltsin's cabinet and Yeltsin's special confidante. In the interview with SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG Fedorov described the role that Gorbachev is still playing in Moscow as very marginal: "Gorbachev," Fedorov said, "no longer decides which policy is pursued by Russia or by the Soviet Union." One is willing to listen to Gorbachev, but if he should adopt a "disturbing position" in implementing certain programs, Fedorov noted, "then he will not remain president for long."

In Fedorov's view, the government of the Soviet Union "practically does not exist anymore." It is just pretend that the Soviet Union still exists, but this is not the case, neither juridically nor in reality. "The Soviet Union," Fedorov said, "is just a phantom."

Kozyrev on Discussing NATO Membership

PM1811110591 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 16 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

[Report under "News" rubric: "Russia Will Not Join NATO for Time Being"]

[Text] Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, who arrived in Rome 13 November on a working visit at the Italian Government's invitation, told RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY's correspondent that the Russian leadership responded with satisfaction to the statement issued by the NATO Council session in Rome about setting up a special Atlantic Cooperation Council. Countries of what was the Warsaw Pact have been invited to the first council session, but according to Kozyrev, it is still too early to discuss the question of Russia's joining NATO as a member of this bloc.

The Russian minister also said that the most important task of his trip is to "give as much specific substance as possible to the Russian president's scheduled visit to Italy, which should be regarded as recognition of the prestige won by democratic Russia."

Moscow State University To Transfer to RSFSR

LD1611221691 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 16 Nov 91

[Interview with academician A.M. Yemelyanov by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given; from the "TV Inform" newscast presented by Irina Mishina—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Mishina] Moscow University—and that means to a considerable extent our future science—is essentially on the verge of bankruptcy. The background to this, put briefly, is as follows: Having received autonomy from the hands of Ryzhkov's government, it still remains, essentially, the only higher educational institution which has not announced its transition to the jurisdiction of Russia. Moscow State University [MSU] is ending 1991 without knowing anything about its budget for next year. The amalgamated trade union committee has demanded that Anatoliy Logunov, dean of MSU, report on his activities in the post he occupies.

[Yemelyanov] For a rather long time now the university has been seething. It is continuing to seethe now. [passage omitted]

The most important thing is that since the well known events of August and the subsequent weeks, the university has been in a state of suspense. The Union structures have disintegrated, and the Union with it, and the university was financed from the Union structures, the Union budget, and was under the jurisdiction of the Union. People are already concerned about their wages, and in a number of faculties there have been delays in paying wages. The situation is critical. What is the way out of this situation?

On 28 October we discussed the problem at a council, an academic council of Moscow University. The discussion lasted around three hours; it was very long and rather stormy. There were attempts to have our university remain an all-Union one, but these attempts are not realistic. This opinion is not realistic, either. The overwhelming majority came to the conclusion that it is necessary to go over to the jurisdiction of Russia—other higher educational establishments went over a long time ago, but our university is autonomous and self-administrating and the problem, therefore—its solution—was, well, somewhat protracted. At that council on 28 October the decision was made almost unanimously—although there was no vote—the decision was made that talks should be held with Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin. [passage omitted]

First Session of 'Reform Government' Meets

PM1811095191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Nov 91 Union Edition p 2

[V. Kononenko report: "What the 'Reform Government' Has in Store"]

[Text] The first session of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers was held 15 November. The cabinet is already being called the "reform government." The session was opened by Russian President B. Yeltsin.

The main theme of the session was overcoming the economic crisis. This was attested by the agenda. Ye. Gaydar and A. Shokhin presented a range of urgent measures for implementing economic reform. What are these measures? Let us look at the presidential draft decrees which were distributed to government members and are a concentrated expression of economic approaches. They can be divided into several blocs: the organization of government structures; economic measures proper; social protection; and cooperation with partners.

In particular, the government is being allowed to set up federal state agencies [vedomstva], committees, departments [departamenty], and other institutions in order to respond rapidly to the economic situation in the RSFSR and within the framework of existing spending for these purposes.

The draft decree on the liberalization of foreign economic activity on RSFSR territory is designed to provide an incentive for an influx of goods. It is planned to allow enterprises registered on RSFSR territory to engage in foreign economic activity without additional authorization—except in the case of foreign currency operations.

The restrictions on barter will be lifted and the list of goods, services, exports, and imports subject to license will be sharply reduced. Banks authorized to engage in foreign currency operations will be permitted to open foreign currency accounts for all legal persons and citizens. Citizens will be able to withdraw their money on demand and without any restriction.

The ruble rate with respect to foreign currencies will be set at auctions, exchanges, and in the interbank market. Currency exchange will probably be opened too. It is planned to abolish in Russia all types of mandatory foreign currency deductions, taxes on exports, imports, and services set by USSR organs.

The draft decree on the commercialization of trade assumes that the existing monopoly on the system for purchasing, distributing, and selling goods will be destroyed and that parties engaging in trade will be classed as legal persons in order to give them freedom of enterprise without changing the profile of their operations.

In order to ease the transition to the market, a decree has been drawn up on social partnership and the resolution of labor disputes (conflicts). Its essence is to ensure that, as of early next year, social guarantees and sector wage rates are determined by agreement between state organs, trade unions, and employers. If agreement is reached strikes will be deemed illegal. As of 1 December this year wages will most probably no longer be pegged. Enterprises and organizations themselves will have to determine rates in accordance with the RSFSR law "On Enterprises and Entrepreneurial Activity."

As for partners in the former USSR, the Russian Government's approach is as follows. Russia is prepared to assume collective responsibility for debt repayment, but under the control of the Interstate Committee. On the question of the creation of a Banking Union and the introduction of national currencies the Russian Government believes that financial stabilization is impossible if there is no control over the money supply. As long as the ruble is unified a Banking Union will be required, but the adoption of decisions should be based on the correspondence between the number of votes held by each state in this union and its control of its share of the capital. The principle "one state, one vote" should be enshrined in a Supreme Banking Inspectorate, which would monitor observance of the Banking Union's statutes.

Given that most states in the former Union have announced their intention to introduce national currencies, the Russian Government considers it necessary to immediately embark on preparing for the introduction of a Russian ruble. Given that this will be a protracted process, it is planned to take measures to protect the money supply on Russian territory.

Now to price liberalization. The Russian Government is proposing that the other sovereign states join in this process and carry out a one-shot unfreezing of prices. In accordance with the treaty, agreed prices will be retained for certain goods in the economic community, but trade should be conducted at free prices and, within the framework of an agreed list of goods, at world prices on clearing terms.

Foreign Economic Relations Committee Established

LD1511215791 Moscow TASS in English 1852 GMT 15 Nov 91

[By Business-TASS correspondents Irina Bolshova and Pavel Karikov]

[Text] Moscow November 15 TASS—A Russian Committee on Foreign Economic Relations has been created to liberalize foreign economic activities in Russia and establish compact structures to control them, committee chairman Petr Avin told TASS today.

The committee is a successor of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and the Russian State Licensing Committee.

Avin believes that one of the first steps to liberalize foreign economic activities should be changes in the procedure of licensing and quotas. Licenses and quotas will be freely sold at auctions and closed tenders to exclude any possibility of corruption and misuse.

The Russian president has prepared a decree on the liberalization of foreign trade, Avin said. The decree will come into force simultaneously with the fulfillment of the package of economic reforms in Russia. It is directly connected with the policy of price formation, liberalization of prices and foreign currency regulation.

According to the decree, each economic subject on Russian territory will have the right to conduct foreign economic activities without preliminary permissions or registrations.

As for the foreign currency regulation, it will be also changed. Citizens will receive the right to freely buy and sell foreign currency through authorized banks. However, enterprises will be sold foreign currency only in case they have import contracts in order to prevent foreign currency exports.

The state will purchase foreign currency for its need at the free market on equal terms with others.

Three currency exchange rates will be introduced for this purpose: a commercial rate for the state purchases of foreign currency, an exchange rate for enterprises buying foreign currency under import contracts, and an exchange rate for the population.

Yeltsin Issues Resolutions, Decrees, Orders

On Deputy Chairmen Duties

PM1911105391 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 15 Nov 91 First Edition p 2

["Order by the President of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, RSFSR, on the Distribution of

Duties Among Deputy Chairmen of the RSFSR Government"; order dated 11 November 1991]

[Text] 1. G.E. Burbulis, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Government, is tasked with carrying out the appointment of deputy ministers and leaders of management organs forming part of the structure of RSFSR ministries and state committees.

2. Yegor Timurovich Gaydar, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Government, is responsible for directly coordinating and organizing the work of the following:

RSFSR Ministry of the Economy and Finance;
RSFSR Ministry of Industry;
RSFSR Ministry of Agriculture;
RSFSR Ministry of Transport;
RSFSR Ministry of Fuel and Power;
RSFSR Ministry of Trade and Material Resources;
RSFSR Ministry of Geology and the Use of Natural Resources;
RSFSR Ministry of Communications;
RSFSR Ministry of Architecture, Construction, and Housing and Municipal Services;
RSFSR State Committee for the Management of State Property;
RSFSR State Committee for Antimonopoly Policy and the Support of New Economic Structures.

3. Aleksandr Nikolayevich Shokhin, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Government, is responsible for directly coordinating and organizing the work of the following:

RSFSR Ministry of Health;
RSFSR Ministry of Labor and Employment of the Population;
RSFSR Ministry of Education;
RSFSR Ministry of Culture;
RSFSR Ministry of Social Protection for the Population;
RSFSR Ministry of Science and Technical Policy;

[Signed] RSFSR President B. Yeltsin, 11 November 1991

On Budget Sector Salaries

LD1611211791 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 16 Nov 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] Today we received the texts of several decrees issued by Russian Federation President Yeltsin. They are quite important, and so we consider it necessary to tell you about them. They include a decree on abolishing restrictions on wages and the growth of assets, and also on raising the wages of employees in budget organizations and establishments. From 1 December this year the levels of existing basic wage rates and salaries of employees in organizations and establishments in the health service, education, culture, science, and law enforcement organs, and also in the courts, administrative organs, and other organizations on budget financing, will be raised by 90 percent. From 1 December this year the minimum wage level will be set at 200 rubles per month.

On Funding Ministries

LD1711021091 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0105 GMT 17 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow, 17 Nov (TASS)—The Government of Russia has adopted a decision on "measures to provide financial safeguards for economic reform and to protect the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR]'s financial system." Under this decision, the structure of the RSFSR Ministry of Economics and Finance is amended and the Ministry's powers altered and enhanced. The central establishment of the RSFSR Ministry of Finance is being incorporated in it and those structures of the former USSR Ministry of Finance and the State Association for the Production of Banknotes, which are located on RSFSR territory, are made subordinate to the new ministry. The decision, whose text was passed to TASS late last night, lays down, among other things, that funding of USSR ministries and departments, apart from those to which some state administrative functions have been transferred in accordance with RSFSR legislation, should cease from 20 November. By 10 December it is planned to prepare a system of measures to protect the RSFSR's interests in respect of former Union republics which intend to introduce their own currencies.

On Minimum Wage

LD1711035191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0200 GMT 17 Nov 91

[Text] The new Russian Government, which officially embarked on its duties 15 November, adopted a whole series of documents. I shall give you details of one of these, one which concerns every Russian citizen—the decision on procedures for introducing minimum wage. The Government of Russia resolves:

A minimum wage of 200 rubles a month, taking account of the compensation for retail price increases introduced in April, is to be established from 1 December 1991. Supplementary payments and compensations, bonuses, and other incentives are not counted as part of the minimum wage. The actual level of wages and salaries and the ratio applicable to various categories of personnel and employees in different professional and skilled groups is decided at enterprises in the form of conditions inserted in collective contracts.

A work week which must not exceed 40 hours is introduced from 1 January 1992. The existing reduced work week applicable to a six- hour and five-hour work day remains at the current level—36 and 30 hours respectively. The level of compensatory payments for abnormal working conditions, for evening shifts, night shifts, and so on is decided independently by enterprises, but it must not be less than the levels set in the relevant

decisions of the Russian Government or other bodies authorized by it. Incentives, supplementary payments, and compensations for high qualifications, professional skill, and reduced manning, bonuses, awards, and so on are independently decided by enterprises and disbursed within the limits of available funds. The level of these payments and the conditions governing them are to be set in collective contracts. Existing conditions governing the wages of employees which are not subject to change under this decision remain in force.

On 'Social Partnership'

LD1711052791 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0430 GMT 17 Nov 91

[Excerpts] TASS has circulated the text of decrees and decisions on economic reform issued by RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] President Boris Yeltsin. [passage omitted]

A decree on social partnership envisages that agreements will be concluded every year at a republican level between the RSFSR Government and representatives of trade union and employer associations. These will define the obligations of the sides regarding employment of the population, step by step improvement of social guarantees for citizens and social security for the most vulnerable groups of the population. [passage omitted]

On Protecting Reform

LD1711084191 Moscow TASS in English 0805 GMT 17 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow November 17 TASS—The Government of Russia adopted a decision "On Measures for Financial Backing of Economic Reform and Protection of the Financial System of the Russian Federation".

Under the decision, the structure of Russia's Ministry of Economics and Finance Changes and its powers are broadened. The Ministry shall include the central staff of the Russian Ministry of Finance and assume authority over the structures of the former USSR Ministry of Finance and the State Association for the Production of State Marks (Goznak), which are located on the territory of the Russian Federation.

The decision, the text of which was made available to TASS late on Saturday [16 November] night, rules that the financing of USSR ministries and departments shall be discontinued from November 20, except those to which part of state administration functions have been transfered in accordance with the legislation of the Russian Federation.

A system of measures to protect the interests of the Russian Federation in relations with the former Union republics that intend to introduce their own currencies is to be prepared before December 10.

On Foreign Trade

LD1711165291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1236 GMT 17 Nov 91

["Decree of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, RSFSR, President on Liberalizing Foreign Economic Activity in the Territory of the RSFSR"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 17 Nov (TASS)—Here is the full text of the decree by the president of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR]:

For the purposes of stimulating foreign economic activity, stabilizing the internal market, and attracting foreign investments, I decree:

1. That all enterprises and their associations registered on the territory of the RSFSR, irrespective of their forms of ownership, be permitted to conduct foreign economic activity, including intermediary activity, without special registration.

Hard currency operations are to be conducted on the basis of licenses issued according to the procedure established by the RSFSR Government.

2. That the RSFSR Government:

—within one month lift restrictions on foreign trade barter operations not based on RSFSR laws;

—within one month submit for approval a new list of goods (jobs and services) the export and import of which is licensed and subject to quota, with a view to a substantial reduction of this list;

—prior to 1 January 1992, approve provisions on the system for licensing and setting quotas for the export and import of goods (jobs and services) in the RSFSR for the year of 1992, envisaging the competitive or auctioned sale of quotas and licenses;

—prior to 1 January 1992, submit proposals on the procedure for taxing export and import operations, including barter deals, and also the rates of taxation and customs tariffs.

3. That banks authorized to carry out currency operations on RSFSR territory be allowed to open currency accounts for all juridical persons and citizens.

That foreign currency which is in citizens' accounts be given out upon their request, without any restrictions or permission.

4. That there be established, beginning 1 January 1992, the compulsory sale of part of the currency profit of enterprises situated or registered on RSFSR territory to the RSFSR Central Bank for the formation of an RSFSR republican currency reserve. Norms for the compulsory sale of part of the currency profit of enterprises to the RSFSR Central Bank are to be determined by the RSFSR Government.

That it be recommended that the RSFSR Central Bank, beginning 1 January 1992, define on its own the ruble exchange rate used for calculating ruble coverage of that part of the currency profit of enterprises subject to compulsory sale.

The means accumulated in the RSFSR's republican foreign currency reserve are to be used to service the foreign debt, for centralized orders for import, and for other purposes, according to the procedure established by the RSFSR Government. Within a month the RSFSR government is to draw up proposals for reducing subsidies for imports for 1992.

5. That restrictions on the participation of citizens and legal officials registered on the RSFSR's territory in carrying out transactions involving foreign currency through authorized banks be abolished, including restrictions on the purchase of hard currency in cash. That it be established that the sale of foreign currency to legal officials registered on the RSFSR's territory be carried out only for the purpose of import of goods and services (carrying out of current operations), and also to foreign investors for a transfer of profits and dividends abroad. The ruble exchange rate against foreign currencies is to be formed on a supply and demand basis at auctions, stock exchanges, the inter-banking market, and through commercial banks, other legal officials, and citizens purchasing and selling hard currency.

That it be recommended that the RSFSR Central Bank establish the extreme limit for the difference between the rates for the purchase and sale of available hard currency at commercial points and currency exchanges, as well as the extreme limit for the purchase and export of hard currency by citizens.

6. That there be abolished on the territory of the RSFSR all types of compulsory hard currency deductions, as well as taxes on the export and import of goods and services which have been established by the USSR president and USSR bodies.

The exchange rates of the ruble against foreign currencies which have been established by the USSR Gosbank are not applicable on the territory of the RSFSR.

7. That it be recommended that the RSFSR Central Bank undertake measures for the comprehensive development of the hard currency market, including the inter-bank market and the expansion of the currency exchange network.

8. That there be prohibited on the territory of the RSFSR settlements and payments between legal persons, as well as between legal persons and citizens in hard currency, with exception of wages and salaries, and of settlements in shops located on territories having extraterritorial status.

Temporarily, until 1 July 1992, that the existing procedure for retail trade and the provision of services to citizens for foreign currency on the territory of the RSFSR be preserved.

9. That it be established that investments abroad, including the purchase of securities, by legal persons registered on the territory of the RSFSR and Soviet citizens be carried out by license, according to the procedure being fixed by the RSFSR Government.

10. That the RSFSR Justice Ministry advance proposals for entering amendments to RSFSR Government decisions in connection with this decree.

11. That the present decree comes into force from the moment of its signing, with the exception of points 5 and 6, and the first paragraph of point 8, which come into force from 1 January 1992.

[Signed] RSFSR President B. Yeltsin, Moscow, the Kremlin
15 November 1991

On Foreign Trade Missions

LD1711173791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1305 GMT 17 Nov 91

["Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Government Resolution on USSR Trade Missons"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 17 Nov (TASS)—The following is the full text of the resolution of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Government of 15 November 1991 on USSR trade missions abroad:

In connection with the abolition of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations of the USSR and further to the RSFSR Government resolution "On the organization of work in connection with the abolition of the ministries and other bodies of state administration of the USSR" the RSFSR Government resolves:

1. To authorize the Committee for Economic Relations of the RSFSR to hold talks with the leadership of the sovereign states—former Union republics—on questions of ownership and further functioning of trade missions abroad.

2. To establish that USSR trade missions keep their own names, powers, and functions until their further utilization is determined.

3. The RSFSR Ministry of Economics and Finance is to determine, within one week, the procedure and amount of financing for trade missions in the new conditions.

4. The leaders of USSR trade missions are, within two weeks, to submit to the committee for the RSFSR's foreign economic links proposals for the procedure for their further utilization.

5. The current resolution comes into force from the moment of its adoption.

[Signed] B. Yeltsin

On Precious Metals, Diamonds

LD1711172391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1247 GMT 17 Nov 91

["Decree by the President of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, RSFSR, on the Extraction and Utilization of Precious Metals and Diamonds on the Territory of the RSFSR"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 17 Nov (TASS)—Following below is the full text of the decree by the president of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR]:

With the aim of forming a state fund of precious metals and precious stones for the RSFSR as a very important condition for the state sovereignty of the Republic and of increasing the commitment of the republics within the RSFSR, its krays, oblasts, and autonomous entities, as well enterprises, to the extraction of precious metals and precious stones and of guaranteeing the requirements of the national economy for them, I resolve:

1. To establish that the regulation of relations connected with prospecting, mining, extracting, processing, selling, and storing precious metals and precious stones in the RSFSR are, in accordance with the law of the RSFSR of 31 October 1990 "On Guaranteeing the Economic Foundations of the RSFSR's Sovereignty," under the jurisdiction of the RSFSR.

2. To form, attached to the RSFSR Ministry of Economics and Finance, a Committee for Precious Metals and Stones, on the basis of the administration for precious metals and precious stones, subdivisions of the state depository for valuables (USSR Gokhran), and the administration for the state hallmarking supervision of the USSR Ministry of Finance.

To form within the above committee a state depository for valuables (RSFSR Gokhran) and a Russian state hallmarking chamber.

3. To the RSFSR Government: To determine a procedure for state monitoring of all the operations involving precious metals and precious stones on the territory of the RSFSR. Taking into account proposals by the councils of ministers of republics belonging to the RSFSR and organs of executive power in krays, oblasts, and autonomous formations, to establish annual quotas for the extraction of precious metals and precious stones, and to establish a procedure for making them known to the mining enterprises. To work out new principles for forming prices for precious metals, precious stones, and for items made of them, proceeding from the prevalent standard of world market prices. To coordinate with the councils of ministers of republics belonging to the RSFSR and organs of executive power in krays, oblasts, and autonomous formations the size of payment for the use of deposits of precious metals and previous stones. The aforementioned means are to be included into the budgets of the RSFSR's republics, krays, oblasts, and autonomous formations.

4. To grant the councils of ministers of republics belonging to the RSFSR, and organs of executive power of krays, oblasts, and autonomous formations the right:

—to confirm, in coordination with the appropriate organs of state administration of the RSFSR, feasibility studies for the geological prospecting and exploration for precious metals and precious stones and exploitation of deposits, and also to coordinate the granting of permission for the performance of the said operations;

—to use up to 1.5 percent of the volume of precious metals mined under established quotas for the production of jewelry and other consumer goods using precious metals.

5. To establish that payment for 25 percent of gold mined and 25 percent of diamonds and metals in the platinum group sold on the external market be made to enterprises mining precious metals and diamonds in freely convertible currency. Twenty percent of the receipts in freely convertible currency are to be sold to the councils of ministers of the republics belonging to the RSFSR and to the organs of executive power of krays, oblasts, and autonomous formations on whose territory the mining of the said precious metals and diamonds is carried out, by a procedure being established by the Committee for Precious Metals and Stones.

To leave at the disposal of enterprises producing polished diamonds 30 percent of the sum of freely convertible currency received in the form of the difference between the value of polished diamonds sold on the external market and the value of the rough diamonds used for their manufacture.

6. To establish that items consisting of precious metals and precious stones of outstanding historical, artistic, and natural value are the exclusive property of the state and are not to be taken out of the RSFSR.

7. To put the present decree into force from the moment of its signing.

[Signed] President of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic B. Yeltsin, Moscow, the Kremlin
15 November 1991

On Supply of Oil, Products

LD1711175891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1252 GMT 17 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow, 17 Nov (TASS)—Below follows the full text of a resolution by the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Government of 15

November 1991 on regulating the supply of oil and products produced during the processing of it outside the boundaries of the RSFSR:

With the aim of a practical implementation of the RSFSR law "On Guaranteeing the Economic Foundations of the Sovereignty of the RSFSR" in the foreign economic sphere, and of the creation of the conditions for the Russian Federation to carry out the clauses of the treaty on economic community founded on the principles of a mutually advantageous cooperation based on equal rights, of the preservation and development of economic links within the framework of a single economic space, as well as the stabilization of the economy of the RSFSR and the protection of the Republic's internal market in the autumn-winter period of 1991-92, the government of the RSFSR resolves:

1. To delegate to the RSFSR Ministry of Economy and Finance and the RSFSR Ministry of Fuel and Power Engineering the formation and allocation of general quotas for the export of oil and the products of oil refining, which must be issued only to producers of this output, with the exception of supplies for export for republican state needs.

2. The RSSR Committee for Foreign Economic Relations and its authorized representatives in the Republic's economic regions are to halt the issue of new licenses for oil and the products of oil refining by January 1 1992.

The RSFSR Ministry of Fuel and Power Engineering and the RSFSR Committee for Foreign Economic Relations are to review previously issued licenses for this output within a 10-day period and make decisions as to their reregistration, taking into account the need to secure the RSFSR's requirements for fuel and power in the autumn and winter perod of 1991-2, and for meeting:

—supplies of output for export for republican state needs and fulfilling intergovernmental agreements; treaties concerning deliveries of foodstuffs and medicines, which have been concluded; treaties aimed at providing expanded reproducion within the industries of the fuel and power engineering complex; and other export-oriented industries.

3. To rule that the licenses which have not been re-registered, within the time limits indicated at the RSFSR Committee for Foreign Economic Relations cease to be valid. The licenses which have been re-registered are valid until 31 December 1991.

4. To impose restrictions, starting from 1 December 1991, on exports of oil and oil refinement products outside the territory of the RSFSR. A supply of the said products to cover the Republic's state needs should be implemented in accordance with the quotas established by the RSFSR Ministry of Economy and Finance and the RSFSR Ministry of Fuel and Power Engineering. To implement shippings of the said products outside the territory of the RSFSR only upon obtaining permission from the relevant local bodies in charge of provision and shipment of oil and oil products, provided those bodies supply the information every 10 days to the RSFSR Ministry of Fuel and Power Engineering and the Committee for Foreign Economic Relations on the deliveries implemented.

5. That the RSFSR Customs Committee and the RSFSR Ministry of Internal Affairs ensure a strict monitoring of compliance with the procedure laid down by the present resolution for the exporting beyond the borders of the Republic of oil and oil-refined products.

6. That it be established that, if the procedure envisaged by the present resolution is violated, a fine 10 times greater than the value of the cargo being transported is to be exacted as revenue to the local budget from the owners of the transport facilities transporting the oil and oil-refined products.

The exaction of the fine is made by the state taxation inspectorates upon submission by relevant bodies of the RSFSR Customs Committee or the RSFSR Ministry of Internal Affairs.

The suppliers of these products bear responsibility to the same extent and in the same way.

[Signed] B. Yeltsin

On Abolishing USSR Ministries

LD1711175191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1307 GMT 17 Nov 91

["Resolution by the Russian Government in connection with the abolition of the ministries"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 17 Nov (TASS)—The following is the full text of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Government resolution of 15 November 1991 on organizing work in connection with the abolition of the ministries and other bodies of the USSR state administration:

In connection with the abolition of the ministries and other bodies of the USSR state administration, the RSFSR Government resolves:

1. That property being used by the abolished ministries and bodies of the USSR state administration should be included in the reserves of the RSFSR Government.

Property attached to the state enterprises, organizations, and establishments in the RSFSR that are part of the system of abolished ministries and other bodies of the USSR state administration including buildings, structures, and other property abroad are to be handed over to the jurisdiction of the appropriate RSFSR bodies.

2. Within one week, the RSFSR Ministry of Economics and Finance must determine the procedure for and amount of financing for the activities of the Union structures being handed over to the jurisdiction of ministries and departments of the RSFSR and which are part of the USSR's system of enterprises, organizations, and

establishments in the RSFSR and which are financed from resources outside the USSR state budget.

The RSFSR Ministry for Labor and the Employment of the Population, jointly with the RSFSR Ministry of Justice, is to establish the procedure for resolving matters connected with regulating labor relations with employees of the above Union structures.

[Signed] B. Yeltsin

Documents Specify Steps for Economic Reform

OW1911041191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2104 GMT 18 Nov 91

[From the "Soviet Business Report"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] President Boris Yeltsin signed decrees entitled "On Liberalizing Foreign Economic Activity on the Territory of the RSFSR" and "On the Mining and Utilization of Precious Metals and Diamonds on RSFSR Territory," as well as government resolutions concerning "Measures to Protect Economic Reforms and the Fiscal System of the RSFSR" and "Regulating Shipments of Oil and Oil-based Products Beyond the Borders of the RSFSR." These are the first documents which specify concrete steps to be taken for implementing the radical economic reform program announced by Mr. Yeltsin.

Financial Backing for the Economic Reforms

Control Extended Over Finances

The RSFSR's Ministry of Economics and Finance has extended its own control over structures belonging to the former Union Council of Ministers that are situated on Russian territory. These include the Department of Precious Metals and Stones, the State Storehouse of Valuables (the USSR's Gokhran) and the USSR's Department for Assaying. Also brought under Russia's direction are enterprises located on its territory but belonging to the State Association for Manufacturing State Badges (Goznak).

Mining of Precious Stones and Metals Now Under Russian Control

Russia has taken control over all dealings in precious metals and stones on its territory. The RSFSR government will take responsibility for setting annual quotas on mining precious stones and metals. It will also establish guidelines, based on world prices, for pricing these commodities and will determine charges for exploiting deposits of precious metals and stones. The republic's Ministry of Economics and Finance will set up a Committee on Precious Metals and Stones, which will incorporate the RSFSR's Storehouse for Valuables and Russia's Assaying Office.

Boosting Output of Precious Metals and Stones

Local authorities in regions where precious stones are mined will be permitted to utilize 1.5% of their production for their own needs. Enterprises which mine precious metals and diamonds will be paid a sum of hard currency amounting to 25% of the value of the gold mined and 25% of the sale price on the world market of diamonds and of metals of the platinum group. Enterprises which produce many faceted diamonds (brilliants) be able to keep 30% of their sale price on the world market, having subtracted from the total profits the price they paid for the uncut diamond.

New System for Exporting Oil and Oil Products

Within the next ten days, all licenses which have already been issued for the export of oil and oil products will be reviewed, and no new licenses will be issued until January 1, 1992. As of December 1, restrictions will be placed on the export of oil and oil products from the RSFSR. Such exports will be permitted only on the basis of quotas, set by the republic's Ministry of Economics and Finance and its Ministry of Fuel and Power. The right to receive general quotas for the export of oil and oil products will only be granted to producers of such products, with the exception of exports that serve Russia's national interest.

Liberalizing Economic Activity

Foreign economic activity, including services as a middleman, is permitted to all enterprises registered on RSFSR territory, irrespective of their type of ownership, without the need to apply for special permission. Within a month, all restrictions on barter in foreign trade, apart from those based on RSFSR legislation, will be lifted. The system of licensing exports and imports and issuing quotas will be retained but the list of goods to which they apply will be shortened. In 1992, state subsidies on imports will be curtailed.

Hard currency operations will be conducted on the basis of licenses issued by the government of the RSFSR. Such licenses will be sold through tenders or auctions. Banks, empowered to carry out hard currency operations on the territory of the RSFSR, are permitted to open hard currency accounts for all juridical persons and citizens. Holders of such accounts will be able to receive hard currency without any limitation.

Hard Currency Deductions

As of January 1, 1992, all forms of hard currency deductions and taxes on imports and exports, which have been imposed by the central government, will be eliminated. The exchange rates set by the USSR State Bank (Gosbank) will not apply on the territory of the RSFSR. Nevertheless, enterprises situated or registered on the territory of the RSFSR will be obliged to sell part of their hard currency proceeds to the RSFSR Central Bank at a rate set by the Bank and in a quantity determined by the government of the republic.

Hard Currency Regulations

As of January 1, 1992, a ban will be imposed on accounts kept and payments made in foreign currency between juridical persons, as well as between juridical persons and citizens.

At the same time, restrictions are being removed on the participation of citizens and juridical persons, registered on RSFSR territory, in the conduct of hard currency transactions through authorized banks, including the purchase of hard currency in cash. The sale of hard currency to juridical persons, registered on the territory of the RSFSR, will be limited to financing imported commodities and services and to conducting current transaction. Hard currency, however, can also be sold to foreign investors for transfer abroad of profits and dividends.

The rate of exchange between the ruble and foreign currencies will be set through supply and demand at auctions, exchanges, the inter-bank market and through the purchase and sale of hard currency by commercial banks and other juridical persons and citizens. The RSFSR Central Bank will establish limits to differences in rates for the purchase and sale of hard currency at commercial and exchange centers, as well as limits regarding the purchase of hard currency by citizens and its transfer out of the country.

Investments abroad, including the purchase of securities, by juridical persons, registered on RSFSR territory, and by Soviet citizens will be carried out in accordance with licenses and a system to be determined by the RSFSR government.

Trade Unions React

LD1911020191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1502 GMT 18 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Yegorov]

[Text] Moscow, 18 Nov (TASS)—The first practical steps have been taken to create an integral mechanism for the social partnership and social security of the people of Russia. This is how chairman of the Russian Federation of Independent Trade Unions [RFITU] Igor Klochkov assessed the package of decrees issued by the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic president on 15 November. He stressed in an interview with a TASS correspondent today that these legal acts took account of many of the RFITU's demands which were supported by the republic's working people during the unity of action days. For example, the presidential decree on lifting restrictions on wages embodies one of the Federation's main slogans: "Market wages for market prices." The persistent struggle waged by the Russian trade unions for the interests of employees in the culture, science, and health sectors contributed to the emergence of the decree on raising wages and salaries in budget organizations and establishments by 90 percent. The president's decision to set up a service for resolving labor conflicts under the Ministry for Labor and Employment also meets the position of the trade unions. The decree on social partnership enshrines in legislation the right of trade unions to defend the interests of the working people in cooperation with the government and enterpreneurs.

At the same time, Klochkov noted, the Russian trade unions consider the new package of legal acts inadequate for guaranteeing reliable protection for the republic's working people in market conditions. The law on indexation of the population's incomes and savings which was passed nearly a month ago has still not been put into operation, nor have mechanisms been determined for the incipient privatization of enterprises and housing, a fact which certainly infringes the interests of hired labor.

Yeltsin on Reforms, Prospects of New Union

AU1811150691 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 18 Nov 91 pp 253-262

[Interview with President Boris Yeltsin by Joerg R. Mettke, Fritjof Meyer, Olaf Ihlau, and Andrey Batrak in Moscow; date not given: "I Am Not a Dictator"]

[Text] [DER SPIEGEL] Mr. President, you are very courageous: First you deprived the CPSU of power, now you want to save Russia from collapse. Where do you get your confidence—from belief in the people, in Russia, in God, or in the mission of Boris Yeltsin?

[Yeltsin] Russia cannot continue like it is now; the people's suffering is unbearable. The result of the tragic and criminal experiment of 1917 is: 55 percent of all Russian families live below subsistence level today. This is what motivates me, above all—the desire to push through an improvement for these people.

[DER SPIEGEL] Will Russia become Europe's alms house?

[Yeltsin] Even though I have not traveled abroad much, either in the United States, England, Germany, France, Japan, or Italy, I have met people who are worse off than we are. Therefore, the first thing that had to be done was to make sure that this system collapsed.

[DER SPIEGEL] Was this your most important goal?

[Yeltsin] Yes, this was deeply rooted in my heart and in my soul—changing life in Russia, embarking on the road toward a democratic, civilized development as has been followed by most other countries for centuries. I have been striving to make people live better and freer in a state based on the rule of law.

[DER SPIEGEL] And you thought the Russians might manage that?

[Yeltsin] A total of 150 million people—this is an enormous creative potential. In addition, we have this gigantic territory, our nature, the natural resources—we have everything. This has given me the confidence that it

can be achieved. If I had had doubts at some time, I would probably have retreated. I think that my stubbornness was a motive force.

[DER SPIEGEL] Now you have all powers: You are president, head of government; you can issue decrees and appoint the local heads of the administrations. Are you not ruling as in a state of emergency?

[Yeltsin] I categorically reject this because it is not true. There are counterweights. I am not a dictator. There is one very important step that has never been taken at the union level: We have elected a Supreme Constitutional Court. This is an elementary part of a state based on the rule of law. If the president makes a mistake or parliament adopts a wrong law, the Constitutional Court can intervene.

[DER SPIEGEL] But you can rule via an edict....

[Yeltsin] ...which Parliament may rescind within one week. I am certainly not the last instance. I am only in the executive power and that only for one year: I asked for the power to appoint the heads of the administrations and personal envoys in the districts, areas, and regions.

[DER SPIEGEL] Instead of local elections to these organs, which you have suspended until the end of next year.

[Yeltsin] Because the reforms have to be implemented very quickly and radically. We are standing on the brink of the abyss, one leg is already dangling over it. Now we must act quickly, otherwise everything will collapse. I was and remain an advocate of elections: In a year the people will decide.

[DER SPIEGEL] On which political forces do you rely?

[Yeltsin] I myself do not belong to any party. I am supported by Democratic Russia and the Movement for Democratic Reforms....

[DER SPIEGEL] ...which was founded by ex-Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and Gorbachev's adviser Aleksandr Yakovlev.

[Yeltsin] In addition, there is now the Free Russia People's Party, which has just been founded. By the way, I am talking to all parties and movements. This does not mean that I do everything that they propose, but it is better to stick to what the majority wants.

[DER SPIEGEL] However, you do not have a sure parliamentary majority; you continue to float above the parties.

[Yeltsin] If nobody wrings my neck, in six months at the latest we will have a movement on which the president may rely, and, in addition, a network of parliamentary parties, a real multiparty system, just like in other countries. So far the path toward this was blocked by the CPSU; its being banned has finally opened it up.

[DER SPIEGEL] Do you not continue to depend on the old bureaucracy?

[Yeltsin] Most of the resistance has been broken by abolishing 80 union ministries. Russia has played the decisive role in this. Just think of how we made progress with our reforms before the putsch, as if we had had weights on our legs, only half-steps, against obstruction by the CPSU and also by Gorbachev.

[DER SPIEGEL] Then the putschists came to your aid?

[Yeltsin] We wrung the necks of the putschists. The field for reforms has been cleared of mines. The center is playing only a small role. Gorbachev, too, has become a completely different man. In the past he sometimes leaned to the right, sometimes to the left, sometimes he kept in the middle. He continually changed his position. Therefore, our personal relations were also unbalanced. I always warned him against the rightist bloc of the evil conservatives: You cannot rely on them; they will leave you in the lurch, in particular they will putsch you out office, I told him.

[DER SPIEGEL] Then Yeltsin was the one who saved him from them.

[Yeltsin] This is what he expected least. Yakovlev, Shevardnadze—okay; but that Yeltsin would fight the putschists to free him, this he did not consider possible. Gorbachev really returned as a different man. He said directly: As of now, no vacillations, only reforms, now we go together.

[DER SPIEGEL] And the victor Yeltsin showed generosity?

[Yeltsin] I told him: Personally, I have nothing against you. If it is possible, let us act together. We are now a team. Relations have become completely different, balanced: We advise each other; we see each other more often. As long as Gorbachev does not change again, the alliance will stay as it is.

[DER SPIEGEL] How much power does Mikhail Gorbachev still have?

[Yeltsin] Perhaps one could calculate that: Here in Russia I have the support of about 70 percent of the people, according to polls; he has about 30 percent. It is difficult to say that for the entire country; in any case we have not made any investigations into that.

[DER SPIEGEL] Together with Gorbachev you now want to form a union of sovereign republics, but if this is not possible, is Russia then supposed to become the legal successor of the old USSR?

[Yeltsin] I think it is better not to answer your question directly so as not to disturb the attempt to bring seven or eight republics together. In any case, Gorbachev and I do not want to leave anything untried to form a new union.

[DER SPIEGEL] Is it true that U.S. President Bush has advised you to be cautious regarding the potential legal succession of the old USSR?

[Yeltsin] No, this has never been discussed, even though we have had frequent telephone conversations recently. The last two times Mr. Bush called me. The issues discussed were the reduction of tactical nuclear weapons and the need for a central command for our nuclear potential, 70 percent of which is in Russia and the rest in the Ukraine, in Kazakhstan, and very little in Belorussia.

[DER SPIEGEL] You are demanding—just like NATO—that the power of disposal over the Soviet nuclear weapons should be in one hand. In your hand?

[Yeltsin] Naturally, this has to be decided by the sovereign republics. We would not be against accepting this responsibility, so that Russia and the union would exercise this control together. If this is not decided, there must be a new control mechanism that transcends the republics and that makes sure that no one can press the button on his own.

[DER SPIEGEL] Who has the power of command over the Soviet nuclear weapons now?

[Yeltsin] The president of the union. Of course, we have the so-called contact telephones to coordinate our actions: Gorbachev, the defense minister, the chief of general staff, myself, and my colleagues in Kazakhstan and the Ukraine. In the event of an emergency we would consult each other, and the head of state would then make the final decision.

[DER SPIEGEL] Is there not a danger that warheads might be sold by one of the republics to well paying interested persons, for instance from the Middle East?

[Yeltsin] Technically this is not possible. The Supreme Soviets of the Ukraine and Kazakhstan have recognized the fact that the strategic missiles belong to the center and are controlled by it.

[DER SPIEGEL] ...and what about the tactical nuclear weapons that are not deployed in bunkers or firmly installed on launch pads?

[Yeltsin] The same applies to them, even though they could have been easily removed from the Ukraine and from Kazakhstan. Now their reduction is on the agenda.

[DER SPIEGEL] Do you fear that national conflicts and border disputes between the former Soviet republics might escalate into a nuclear conflict?

[Yeltsin] No. We have just concluded a treaty with the Ukraine, according to which both states may establish a national guard, the structure and size of which must be coordinated with the partner. We will never agree to nuclear weapons for it or to a national army that is stronger than our National Guard with 20,000 or at the most 30,000 men.

[DER SPIEGEL] Can Russia actually exist without union with the Ukraine?

[Yeltsin] As long as there is any chance of achieving the new union, we must strive for it. This question must be decided by the republics themselves. It is better not to interfere. As long as there is still hope for that, I will not make any other proposals. There is still the belief in a renewed union. The decision will be made by the end of this year.

[DER SPIEGEL] You want to divide the Russian Federation into federal provinces. What kind of status is envisaged for autonomous areas and republics of non-Russian nationalities?

[Yeltsin] The new division of Russia into federal provinces must not be understood as a unification or equalization. All subjects of the federation are to have the same constitutional status, the same opportunities for development, but of course by considering the different traditions, local conditions, and ethnic composition.

[DER SPIEGEL] Will the Chechens or Tatars get the right to secede from the Russian state?

[Yeltsin] According to our Constitution, this would be possible only via a referendum. Such decisions cannot be made by ruling parties or parliamentary groups, no matter how influential they might be. Whether or not a region continues to belong to Russia affects the fate of every individual; no one may deprive him of the right to participate in the decision.

[DER SPIEGEL] What about the Germans? Bonn expects you to say a clear yes to reestablishing the state autonomy of the Russian Germans on the Volga; many Russians are against that and threaten to put up self-defense commandos. What will your decision be?

[Yeltsin] The attitude of the people there concerning the return of the Germans is not very clear, indeed, but it is changing. The Russian leadership has a specific plan: At first, one or two German districts are to be established so that the Germans may feel at home there again. Everyone who lives there today must feel that German autonomy in this region benefits them. Their resistance must turn into active support.

[DER SPIEGEL] Mr. President, you guaranteed that Russia will pay Soviet foreign debts. When can German companies, which have been sitting for a year on unpaid bills amounting to a total of 2 billion German marks, expect to be paid?

[Yeltsin] I never said it in this way. We have expressed readiness to take over the share of debts of some smaller republics—of the Baltic states, perhaps also of Moldova—which have adopted the view that they are not liable for the debts of the Soviet Union. I considered this step correct for psychological reasons so that governments and companies in the West have some security. This raises Russia's share in the overall foreign debts

from 67 to 68 percent. When we will pay I will announce in Germany during my first trip abroad since the putsch.

[DER SPIEGEL] Bonn expects you to extradite Erich Honecker. When will your government fulfill this request?

[Yeltsin] It is not me who keeps him here, neither is it Russia. I talked to Gorbachev about this issue and I told him: According to international law, this is illegal.

[DER SPIEGEL] But he continues to protect him, nevertheless?

[Yeltsin] Gorbachev said that he has a moral duty to Honecker.

[DER SPIEGEL] But you go to Germany and you will not be able to avoid answering this question.

[Yeltsin] Of course, I know that I will be asked about this in Bonn and I said so to Gorbachev, but one cannot bring Honecker back by force. He would have to agree, but he is afraid of the trial. If he received at least the hint of half a guarantee from the German side that consideration will be given to his advanced age....

[DER SPIEGEL] ...This is the responsibility of the court in our country.

[Yeltsin] I know, I know. Court is court, and independence is independence, but Honecker must receive some sort of promise. Today Foreign Minister Boris Pankin came to see me. He had talked to Honecker; we are looking for a way out.

[DER SPIEGEL] What happens if Bonn does not show mercy?

[Yeltsin] Then the wait could be a very long one.

[DER SPIEGEL] Your country is facing a harsh winter. Are the reserves and the promises for aid by other countries sufficient?

[Yeltsin] Russia still has enough fuel. Only in some places there might be a lack of energy. Regarding food supplies, we will not be able to make do without support from the West or the East. Talks about that have been dragging on. I do not understand it. One moment there are promises, and then the brakes are applied again. Therefore, in Bonn I now want to clarify the Germans' attitude. We really need to know what we can expect from them.

[DER SPIEGEL] If nothing comes?

[Yeltsin] If we cannot supply our population with foodstuffs, we will not be able to implement our enormous reforms; on the contrary there will be mutiny.

[DER SPIEGEL] What does Russia need to achieve its high goals of reform within one year, as you intend to do?

[Yeltsin] Foodstuffs. Then technologies for the storage and processing of agricultural produce, for road construction, and transportation. If you could give us all this on loan: your know- how, your experience in the privatization of state companies, and the entire theory of Ludwig Erhard, whom we respect very much.

[DER SPIEGEL] We thought that you had become a social democrat.

[Yeltsin] Where is the difference today? Here and now I am dealing with Christian Democrats, Social Democrats, former Communists, and I must be able to get along with all of them.

[DER SPIEGEL] What do you think of when you think of Germany?

[Yeltsin] Above all that the people run to this country and do not run away from it.

[DER SPIEGEL] Will Russia regain attractiveness under your leadership and the importance of a big power?

[Yeltsin] Perhaps I will not live long enough to achieve that, but I am firmly convinced that Russia will regain this position.

[DER SPIEGEL] Boris Nikolayevich, thank you for this interview.

Russian CP Secretaries Protest Yeltsin Ban

PM1811143591 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 16 Nov 91 p 1

["Statement by Secretaries of Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] The president of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] signed a decree 6 November 1991 suspending CPSU and RSFSR Communist Party activity on the republic's territory and disbanding their organizational structures.

We protest both at the adoption of this decision and at the unfounded and—to members of the CPSU and its structures—insulting accusations used as justification for the RSFSR president's decision.

We think it necessary to say that although they saw the clear invalidity of the previous decrees suspending the party's activity and nationalizing its property, the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee and Russia's communists nevertheless met these decrees' requirements and took no steps that could be described as activity designed to further worsen the crisis and create conditions for another antipeople coup (citing the text of the decree), nor were our appeals to the Russian leadership asking for permission to hold a party congress accepted. Thus, the RSFSR Communist Party was deprived of the opportunity granted in all rule-of-law states to independently decide its future, determine the

nature of its future activity, and adopt the requisite programmatic and statutory documents for the party's registration.

The RSFSR Communist Party has been at work for just a year. This has been a complex period in which it was formed as an independent political organization. Guided by the interests of Russia and all its citizens, the party has done everything it can to preserve stability in society, prevent the collapse of the Union, and defend the interests of the broad working masses in the course of political and economic reform. Life has confirmed the truth of the warnings voiced at RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee plenums about the very gravest ordeals facing all of us if we do not halt the breakup of economic, political, and human ties, find a way to resolve interethnic clashes, and take urgent steps to combat rising crime. Cognizance has not been taken of the party's proposed ways of escaping from the crisis—only charges of conservatism and resisting reform have been heard. Today, after upholding the interests of the working people, the party has, without a trial and prior to the completion of an investigation, fallen victim to deliberate political actions and has effectively been expunged from the political life of our society.

We consider that the deliberate elimination of the CPSU, with which tens of millions of people—honest workers, highly skilled specialists, outstanding individuals from the fields of science, art, and public education, defenders of the Motherland—linked their future, constitutes a serious blow to democracy and a violation of citizens' rights and freedoms. This decree jeopardizes the still unfolding process of the emergence of truly democratic principles in the country and the formation of a civil society.

We appeal to the RSFSR Constitutional Court and await its legal evaluation of the RSFSR president's decree of 6 November 1991 and its conformity with the current RSFSR Constitution and the norms of international law.

We appeal to USSR and RSFSR people's deputies, scientists, lawyers, jurists, political parties and movements who are really committed to democracy and we hope that they will join with us in demanding that the issue of the fate of the CPSU and RSFSR Communist Party be decided on the only permissible basis in a self-respecting state—on the basis of law.

[Signed] V. Kuptsov, V. Kashin, I. Antonovich, A. Melnikov, G. Zyuganov, N. Silkova, A. Ilin, A. Sokolov

Gaydar on Responsibility for Foreign Loans

OW1811015591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2221 GMT 17 Nov 91

[From the "Business Report" feature transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Friday [15 November], the Russian Government's Deputy Chairman Yegor Gaydar announced that Russia will not accept responsibility for foreign loans taken out after November 15, 1991, without the republic's participation. At the same time, the Russian Government emphasized its readiness to take responsibility for the former Soviet Union's already eisting foreign debts.

Gaydar Meets With Political Party Leaders

OW1911132291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1217 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Yegor Gaydar, deputy head of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] government and minister of economics and finance, met in Moscow Monday [18 November] with the leaders of political parties supporting Boris Yeltsin's program of economic reforms.

A leader of the Republican Party, Vladimir Lysenko, has told IF [INTERFAX] that his colleagues from other parties expressed fears that Mr. Yeltsin's decree liberalizing foreign economic activity might lead to the bankruptcy of many Russian enterprises that would be unable to sustain Western rivalry, and thereby to large-scale unemployment.

Mr. Lysenko quoted the vice-premier as saying that fears of this kind were groundless because the country would be protected against a massive influx of Western goods by what he described as a very high exchange rate of the dollar with regard to the ruble.

Replying to questions from the audience, Mr. Gaydar said the RSFSR government would not try to settle disputes by exerting considerable pressure on the union republics or the republics within the Russian Federation.

He attached major significance to dividing the country's external debt among those republics that had chosen to stay within the Union. The Russian leadership, Mr. Gaydar said, was ready to service the debts of those republics unwilling to do so independently but it would make appropriate corrections in the division of the USSR's foreign property and the distribution of debt repayments to the Soviet Union by foreign nations.

According to Gaydar, the prices of Russian strategic items, such as oil, ores and raw materials, would be brought closer to world prices during the next three years.

He said that inflation in the RSFSR was now at the annual rate of 450 percent.

Economic Adviser on Ethnic Issues, Politics

OW1611053391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1348 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Interview with Vladlen Sirotkin, professor of the USSR Foreign Ministry's Academy of Diplomacy and adviser

for the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet's Committee on International Affairs and Foreign Political Relations, by INTERFAX correspondent Nina Kovalenko; place and date not given; from the "Nation and Society" feature—transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] **THE ETHNIC ISSUE IN RUSSIA: ECONOMICS AND POLITICS**

Corr. [Correspondent Kovalenko]: You have just returned from an international symposium in Germany which discussed ethnic issues in Europe and Russia. Is it as painful a problem for Europe today as it is for Russia?

Vladlen Sirotkin [V.S.]: It is an important issue for Europe because Europe is on the way to a very high degree of unity to be achieved in 1992—and, of course, they have their own Nagorno-Karabakhs as well—the Basque Country, Northern Ireland, Catalonia, and now also Yugoslavia. So the Europeans wish to understand what's going on on their continent and fear the same sort of thing can happen in Russia.

Corr.: What was the subject of your speech at the symposium?

V.S.: I spoke about three multinational empires, the Austro-Hungarian, Turkish and Russian ones. They had a lot in common. And it was no accident that in the states formed on the territory of all three empires power was first taken by moderate nationalists, then by extreme rightists, and finally by Zhirinovskiys, that is by fascists.

Corr.: You mean the triumph of nationalism leads to fascism?

V.S.: Yes, I do. Especially if this happens in a small state, one of the fragments of a former empire, that is in a state which has no basis for a self-sufficient economy. What's happening in Russia these days is absolutely ridiculous. If we have several independent states in the middle of Russia the latter may turn into a kind of patchwork quilt—this shred is Tatarstan, that one is Bashkortostan, and so on. And the fact that this kind of policy has some support is simply one of the tragic consequences of the administrative structure introduced here in the thirties, which was based on a queer notion of internationalism. According to the first Constitution of the USSR adopted in 1924 there were no republics within Russia. There were four states formed on the territory of the former Russian Empire: the Russian Federation, the Transcaucasian Federation, the Ukraine and Belorussia. Although they shared a single finance system, each of them could pursue an independent foreign policy and carry on independent foreign trade. In a way, this was a kind of European economic community. But this didn't suit Stalin. He was pursuing a divide-and-rule policy, for which purpose he introduced all sorts of divisions—Union republics, autonomous ones, and so on—and created a Communist Party bureaucracy in each of them which provided him with the support he needed. We all know what this led to.

Corr.: Let's leave the problems of the Soviet Union aside for a while. What do you think is the biggest problem for Russia?

V.S.: Our economic problems are worse than any of our ethnic ones, although there is a very close connection between the two groups of problems.

What is national independence, for instance? Of course, a country is independent if it has its own territory, armed forces, police force and security service and can have independent economic contacts with the outside world. Can Tatarstan, for eample, have all of it? How are they going to handle their exports and imports, for instance? Are they going to pay world prices to Russia, because they are an independent state? They will never be able to do it.

Corr.: But nobody has so far given a distinct formulation of the ethnic issue or shown any concern for the interests of autonomous regions within Russia, which has enabled their representatives to get the discussion of the Russian Constitution to be put off.

V.S.: That's true. Some former Communist Party bureaucrats now call themselves democrats, but they still have pretty much the same attitudes. As in the past, all they want is to keep their jobs. They use new slogans and new labels, but they're still the same as they've always been. They used to be Communists, now they're nationalists, but they only want to leave the Soviet Union or Russia in order to preserve their old system and their power. Look at Tatarstan, for instance. It's still being run by an old Communist Party bureaucracy who is afraid to lose its power. They obviously hope nationalism will keep them going. They couldn't care less about any real independence. And they also realise that being in the centre of Russia Tatarstan couldn't survive economically. This is all political gamble.

Corr.: But this kind of gamble can lead to bloodshed. As an expert, what would you advise the Russian government to do?

V.S.: I don't think they ought to make a lot of fuss about nationalism. They should concentrate on economic and social problems. If we now start forming new republics, whether Union or autonomous ones or any other, we'll never get out of the mess. This is a sure road to an impasse. The West realised this a long time ago—it had Africa as an example. All we can do in that way is follow the example of Africa, that is to create 250 small states on Soviet territory. The economy in all such states would go to pieces in ten years' time or so, so they'd have wars with each other. And since some of them may have nuclear weapons on their territory as well, it's clear what this may lead to. It's an absurd idea altogether that higher living standards can be achieved through nationalism and secession. You may just get new Nagorno-Karabakhs. During the last Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation I saw that Yeltsin and his team realised this full well. That was actually the reason why the congress paid the main attention to economic

matters, to the need to form market mechanisms as soon as possible, no matter how difficult this might be, rather than to ethnic problems. This was a very firm and reasonable stand to take on the part of the Russian leadership. It gave me some optimism and put my spirits up a bit.

Union of Cossack Republics Created

LD1711195191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1719 GMT 17 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Konstantin Bobris]

[Text] Novocherkassk (Rostov Oblast), 17 Nov (TASS)—An appeal to all the peoples and residents of the northern Caucasus region from the Great Council of Atamans of the Cossacks of the south of Russia, which was held in Novocherkassk today, called for a halt to the fratricidal war and for all matters to be resolved without causing interethnic dissent and conflicts. Representatives of the Cossacks of Moscow, the Ukraine, Siberia, the Far East, and Sakhalin took part in it.

Telegrams demanding the immediate issue of a decree on forming and arming a National Cossack Guard in the territory of the south of Russia—which is required for guaranteeing the protection of the population and the honor and dignity of Cossacks—were sent to the presidents of the USSR and of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic. If this does not occur, the telegrams state, the Council of Atamans of the south of Russia will be compelled to resolve this issue idependently.

In the appeals to Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin a request was also expressed that a standing commission for the resolution of all problems which might arise with regard to the Cossacks be created urgently, within the presidential structures.

Council participants decided to form a union of Cossack republics of the south of Russia and of Cossacks associated with it. Its structure was approved. It was decided to consider the Great Council of Atamans the supreme body of the union. Bodies for operational activities and a coordinator were also determined. Sergey Meshcheryakov, ataman of the Don Cossacks, was elected ataman of the union of Cossack republics of the south of Russia and of Cossacks associated with it.

A decision was also adopted at the council on the opening of a Cossack mission, a single Cossack bank, and a commodity exchange in Moscow.

Democratic Party Splits With Democratic Russia

LD1811205991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1555 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow, 18 Nov (TASS)—The board of the Democratic Party of Russia considers it inexpedient for the party to remain as a collective participant in the "Democratic Russia" movement, and refuses to delegate its members to republican electoral bodies of the movement, says a document handed to TASS today.

The board states with regret, it says, that the second congress of the "Democratic Russia" movement, instead of deepening and extending the coalition principle, embarked on the path of turning it into a party.

The final decision on the party's participation in the movement will be made at the third congress of the Democratic Party of Russia, the document says.

Evidence of Nuclear Accident at 'Mayak'

PM1811153391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Nov 91 Union Edition p 12

[A. Illesh article: "'Mayak' Glowing Again?"]

[Text] Experts claim that another accident may have occurred recently at the notorious nuclear production facility at Chelyabinsk-65, an accident about which the public knows nothing.

IZVESTIYA received this sensational report from an independent expedition of the socioecological union which carried out a survey in October-November this year at the population center of Muslyumovo on the Techa River, which apparently is the river with the highest radioactive contamination in the world. An analysis of alpha, beta, and gamma activity at ground level was carried out, and soil, water, and air samples were also taken for laboratory analysis. The survey was carried out by specialists with many years of experience in the sphere of radiogeology and radiometry.

So you can appreciate more fully the explosive nature of this report, here is a brief information roundup.

Several years ago our newspaper was the first in the USSR to report the enormous tragedy which had taken place here, at the top-secret "Mayak" military production association in 1957. An explosion in the nuclear waste dumps dealt a colossal blow to nature and everything living for hundreds of kilometers (the "Mayak" production association specialized in producing "fillings" for atom and other bombs, it was here that the country's "nuclear shield" was forged, and from 1949 highly complex feasibility studies were carried out here and a large-scale nuclear production facility was started up).

For many years the military-industrial complex succeeded in keeping secret this major accident (major even on a planetary scale). It was only from the article entitled "30 Years Before Chernobyl" that the public learned that radioactive waste exceeding in total almost 50-fold the Chernobyl leak was discharged into the Techa River and the Karachay Lake. The effect of the IZVESTIYA article was stunning: The author (and also Zhores Medvedev, who published a book on this catastrophe abroad) had to furnish explanations even to the USSR

Supreme Soviet, to which, apart from us, secret physicists, secret medics, and simply secret comrades had been summoned.

Subsequently the press was swamped with articles from Chelyabinsk Oblast clarifying, developing, and researching this enormous problem. Various commissions appeared, plans to "establish order" in the local environment were adopted, and "Mayak" changed its specialization.

It seemed there were no special secrets left in this formerly secret location. Then suddenly there came the ecologists' report with which I began my article. I hand over to the expedition participants themselves—V. Zamoyskiy and M. Khotuleva.

It is a question not so much of the expedition itself, they relate, as of one of its "side" results—signs pointing to the possibility of a new incident at the "Mayak" production association in connection with a fire in a radioactive waste storage tank.

The sequence of events was as follows. On 4 October the inhabitants of the village of Novogornyy 8 km south of "Mayak" saw a fire in the area of the industrial site from which a mushroom-shaped column of smoke was rising.

2. Around that time in the city of Kasli (north-northwest of the aforementioned site) a public radiation meter at the local radio plant began to show at first 90 and then up to 140 microroentgens per hour, instead of the usual 20! After that it was switched off with the explanation that it was faulty.

3. Oblast Soviet Deputy N. Mironova sent an inquiry in this connection to the "Mayak" production association. The reply, signed by the association's chief engineer, stated that in 1990-1991 there had been no accidents or incidents at the local production facility. This was followed by a highly original postcript: "But the military may have tested their searchlight systems (?) [prozhektornyye sistemy] on that day."

4. One "Mayak" staffer admitted in private conversation: "Yes, a tank of radioactive waste caught fire recently."

5. A representative of the independent group of radiogeologists working on contract for the socioecological union visited the local hydrometeorological center. There he acquainted himself with information relating to weather conditions in October. When he asked for isobar charts for the beginning of October, he was told literally: "We are sorry, but some hooligans came and burned the charts."

The aforementioned information was faxed to the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] State Committee for Emergency Situations 1 November. The following day an answer arrived, signed by S. Shoyga, chairman of the State Committee for Emergency Situations, stating: the Chelyabinsk Oblast Soviet Executive Committee duty officer, the civil defense duty officer, the internal affairs administration duty officer, the KGB duty officer, and others who were questioned all deny that an accident occurred. Nonetheless, the internal affairs administration duty officer confirmed that the "radiation meter at Kasli city was out of action for two weeks."

Is it possible to draw any conclusions from this and, if so, what are they? The ecologists are convinced: Something happened at the "Mayak" industrial site 4-5 October. According to the expedition participants, at least six people furnished identical evidence, independently of each other. What could have happened?

It seems likely that an accident on the same lines as that of 1957 occurred with one substantial difference: In 1957 the explosion was the result of the overheating of a tank containing radioactive waste, and on this occasion it might have been a fire. Alas, for the time being the ecologists are unable to determine the scale of the incident, but judging by the lack of information from the Western press, which usually reacts promptly to such incidents in the USSR, it is possible to hope that the accident was of a localized nature.

When I asked what they—the independent experts—intended to do, I heard sad words. The ecologists lack the resources for serious research. The financial potential of the socioecological union was simply exhausted by the previous expedition. So they are urgently looking for sponsors. In view of the importance of the work which these people are doing, we quote the Moscow telephone number where they can be contacted: 205-53-54.

I would very much like the sensation about another accident at the major nuclear facility in the Urals to turn out to be a false alarm, and like some sensible explanation to be furnished for the fire (or at least the smoke), but it is difficult simply to shrug off the ecologists' report since experience in dealing with organizations guilty of nuclear catastrophes shows that they are skilled at keeping secrets.

Even if people perish as a result of their "skill."

Local Affairs

'Republic of Balkariya' Proclaimed at Congress

LD1811194991 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1630 GMT 18 Nov 91

[By Vera Shebeko]

[Text] The first congress of the Balkar people has taken place in Nalchik. A declaration on the national sovereignty of the Balkar people and on forming the republic of Balkariya within the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic was adopted in accordance with the results of the congress. A National Council was elected at the Congress.

[B.K.Chabdarov, chairman of the National Council of the Balkar People, Natsionalniy Sovet Balkarskogo Naroda] The congress has adopted what was, in my view, the only possible resolution in this situation, on the basis of the peoples right to self-determination. The congress delegates unanimously, with one spirit and one accord, resolved to form this Balkar state, and today we have just ceremonially proclaimed this formation of Balkar national statehood.

Bashkir Students Protest Election Delay

PM1511154091 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Nov 91 Union Edition p 2

[Aleksandr Zinovyev report from Ufa under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Candidates Nominated, Elections Postponed—Acts of Hooliganism by Those Who Are Displeased"]

[Text] The Bashkir SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet has adopted a decision to suspend the republic presidential elections, scheduled for 15 December.

The initiator of this decision—Supreme Soviet Chairman Murtaza Rakhimov, who delivered a statement at the session—justified it on the following grounds. Conducting an election campaign at a time when all efforts and resources need to be concentrated on implementing radical economic reform will undermine that reform. In the conditions of growing economic recession, a heated election contest could disrupt political stability in the republic, lead to a split, in particular a split on ethnic grounds, and weaken the power functions of the state organs.

But some people were displeased. A group of students from the Bashkir Youth League blockaded the republic television center building, and then, overpowering the guard at the entrance, burst into the premises and demanded air time to publicize their statement. An announcer who was making a broadcast in the radio studio, seeing a crowd of agitated strangers in front of her, managed to switch off the microphone. The leaders of the republic state television and radio company engaged in talks with the uninvited guests and discovered that the young people intended to protest the Bashkir SSR Supreme Soviet decision, and also to demand the resignation of the republic's leaders, who, in their view, have not succeeded in properly realizing Bashkortostan's sovereignty. They also wanted to call on their fellow citizens to form a national guard, and so at 1600 on 13 November a statement from the Bashkir Youth League was broadcast on local radio in the Bashkir and Russian languages. The republic was stunned. The incident at the television center and what it led to, namely the appearance of patently inflammatory appeals on the air, all this, to put it mildly, does not promote stability or the harmonization of interethnic relations in the republic.

Irkutsk Congress Calls for Republic Recognition

LD1711215491 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 17 Nov 91

[Text] The Congress of People's Deputies of Irkutsk Oblast, which has just ended, has called on the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet to recognize the oblast as having territorial-state status and a part of the unified, sovereign RSFSR. A resolution of the congress, which was attended by 468 deputies from all levels in Irkutsk Oblast, says that equality of rights for all subjects of the federation in fundamental economic and political rights and the enshrinement of these in constitutional procedures represent an essential condition for the stability of Russian statehood. Addressing the congress, Viktor Ignatenko, chairman of the Irkutsk Oblast Soviet, said that granting state status to all administrative formations will establish the foundation for a new kind of statehood for Russia, providing the opportunity for the budget to be formed not from the top but from below. Moreover, in Ignatenko's view, former RSFSR administrative formations will be able to suspend the validity on their territory of acts promulgated by Union and republican ministries and departments and pass their own legislative acts independently.

Kaliningrad Economic, Political Status Noted

PM1811102391 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report from TASS, RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY, and KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondents' column under the "Cable" rubric: "Kaliningrad Oblast Soviet Decisions on Oblast's Status"]

[Text] Kaliningrad Oblast constitutes a territorial unit of Russia separate from the bulk of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic]. The oblast can establish political, trade, and economic ties with other states. These decisions were adopted by a session of the Kaliningrad Oblast Soviet, which considered the question of a Kaliningrad free economic zone 12 November. According to these decisions the Kaliningrad Oblast Soviet is entitled to autonomously determine the procedure for Soviet and foreign citizens to enter and leave as well as to stay in the oblast. The oblast has been declared an entity with the right to own property.

Moscow Bread Price Up 'Several Hundred Percent'

PM1511164391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Nov 91 Union Edition p 1

[M. Berger report: "Old Mistakes With New Bread Prices"]

[Text] However mentally prepared people might be for the fact that prices for everything are rising and will continue to rise, and however prepared they might have been for price liberalization by the Russian president's

program, it is still very, very difficult to accept the specific blows dealt by new prices especially when the issue does not concern coffee, the taste of which has simply been forgotten by a large part of the population, or chocolate, without which people can somehow manage, but bread.

The bread situation in Moscow has caused double distress: At first there was simply not enough bread and people had to stand in line for three hours. Then it suddenly emerged that the new price for bread significantly exceeds the old price for meat. Moreover, it is a jump of several hundred percent: 3.60 rubles [R] for certain types of black bread (a quarter of all output), and R5.40 for specific types of white (2 percent).

Of course, if the majority has agreed to switch to the market and is prepared to suffer the attendant discomfort, then there is no getting away from rising prices freed by the market. First, liberalized prices—unlike functionaries—cannot be appointed from above. That is why they are free, so that their magnitude can be determined by simple things like the balance of supply and demand. Consequently, the new bread prices introduced by the Moscow Government bear no relation to the market, although they could ruin many people's attitude toward the market. Second, the rise in prices—explained as an inevitable general trend—is in this particular instance an extremely unfortunate measure, according to eminent economist Sergey Aleksashenko, economic adviser at the Science and Industry Union, who is convinced of this.

Aleksashenko believes that if this measure was aimed at deterring panic buying, then it came 7-10 days too late. If this method is also being deployed in the struggle against unjustified purchases, then it should have been done at a time of high demand when people were prepared to pay more to avoid spending hours in line. Now panic buying is on the decline. If the aim was financial gain, then the 2-percent increase in the price of white bread will hardly produce any sizeable amounts, but the more expensive black bread, albeit a quarter of the overall quantity, will also fail to produce the anticipated revenue. People will switch to the cheaper sort and, given this product's limited shelf-life, the more expensive bread may simply go to waste.

Another vital question: To what use will the additional money, if indeed it materializes, be put? Sending it to the Fund for the Social Protection of Muscovites will hardly improve the bread situation, since the bakery industry is in bad shape, and money spent in the interests of the least well-off would be better used first and foremost to develop production.

If City Hall had sought to antagonize people as much as possible, then following the bread prices operation it can be congratulated on its huge success. All this has prompted deep regret and sorrow for the half-baked decisions. We have to enter the market with these city authorities, and if the road to the market is paved with such mistakes, then things could hardly get any more unpleasant along the way.

Moscow's Popov Reflects on Post-Coup Scene

PM1511164091 Amsterdam DE VOLKSKRANT in Dutch 7 Nov 91 p 11

[Article by Moscow Mayor Gavriil Popov: "Populism Is Bringing Russia to a Standstill"]

[Text] The circus has left town, but the clowns have stayed behind. That is how I would describe the situation in Russia in the weeks following the failed coup and the subsequent collapse of the Communist Party.

All political and economic life is in a state of confusion. We are living through a critical moment of transition in which the old system is dead and the new system has yet to be born.

In politics we have to deal with the strange situation that we have a "democracy" without any real political parties. A genuine democracy is founded on parties which compete with each other and which take turns in power. Parties like Social Democrats, Christian Democrats, Democrats, or Republicans work to promote the material interests of organized social groups like farmers, workers, and entrepreneurs. They are also rooted in stable social strata such as the middle class.

Because we have as yet hardly begun the process of privatization, there is presently nothing at all of a property-owning class. We only have the beginnings of such a class. Even less do we have real farmers or entrepreneurs, only the beginnings of such groups, and our workers still seem to be in the service of old-style state socialism.

One of the great problems at present in Russia is that there are only political movements and no well organized parties. At best only the seeds of such parties exist. This explains much of the current confusion and the uncertainty about the future.

Only at the moment that the Russian economy is actually privatized will we be able to overcome this problem and as a result be able to get down to real political work.

I believe that in the future Russia, like every other society with a market economy, will have at least two major political parties. We can already see the hesitant beginnings of political differentiation taking shape in the movement for a Democratic Russia, to which all Russian democrats are affiliated.

On the one side there are those who have a social democratic orientation, including the ultraradicals who rely heavily on populism. Although there are major differences of opinion over the organization of a democratic socialist state, social protection is high on the agenda of all supporters of this wing.

The other wing within Democratic Russia is that of the entrepreneurs, who are chiefly concerned with the question of how the economy can be organized effectively. This wing can be compared with the moderate Republicans in the United States. It is trying to join up with the middle stratum or the middle class in Soviet society, and with the new class of entrepreneurs.

At present no clear dividing line can be drawn between these two wings. Some entrepreneurs attach importance to the ideals of social democracy, and many within the social democratic current are wholehearted supporters of free enterprise.

Now that the government of Boris Yeltsin has opted for a rapid and radical transition to a free market system under which prices are liberalized and subsidies are ended, and now that everyone knows what effect this will have on his or her interests, I am sure that from these two wings two strong political opponents will rapidly emerge.

As soon as there are any real changes another party will emerge alongside these two democratic movements: a Marxist-Leninist party, which will be chauvinistic and nationalistic into the bargain. These people want a return to a communist state. They too will adopt a populist approach, but that populism will have a totalitarian character.

Populism is a threat to the whole delicate process of democratization and the transition to a market economy. If the populist democrats who are opposed to a rapid transition to a free enterprise society gain the upper hand, the whole of Russia will come to a sudden standstill. They will make it impossible to form an enterprise sector.

In fact in the last year that is precisely what has happened in Moscow and St. Petersburg. The ultraradical populists among the democrats do not want unprofitable factories to be closed. They want subsidies to be maintained. They demand higher salaries for doctors and teaching personnel, but they have no idea from where the money is to come, and because we do not have an entrepreneurial class which generates money and income, we can only print more money—something that naturally leads to inflation that is so high that it has a destabilizing effect.

The paralysis that this brings with it prepares the way for the chauvinists who are still waiting in the wings. If the radicals have the best of things, next spring Russia will have to reckon with chauvinists who want a return to the old system.

Aid and investment from abroad—not only from the United States and Europe, but also Japan—are therefore essential if our difficult transition to real democracy and a market system is to be successful.

It is of tremendous importance that Russia makes it through the winter. In the spring we will know if the clowns will succeed in reerecting the circus tent.

North Ossetian Supreme Soviet Meets 15 Nov

Sets Up Self-Defense Headquarters

LD1511145391 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Excerpt] Today an emergency session of the North Ossetian Supreme Soviet adopted a decision on organizing a republican self-defense headquarters which is subordinate to the National Guard which is being formed. A special account for the transfer of assets and donations to its fund has been opened.

Galazov, chairman of the North Ossetian Supreme Soviet, stated that these measures have been adopted in response to open threats by Checheno-Ingushetia and by Dudayev, president of the Chechen Republic, personally, to use force to solve territorial disputes with North Ossetia.

Meanwhile, the YUG news agency reports that events in Checheno-Ingushetia, which have led to a widespread exodus of the Russian speaking population, have brought with them retaliatory reaction in areas adjacent to Groznyy. Separate clashes with representatives of North Caucasian ethnic groups have begun in Rostov. [passage omitted]

Further on 'Republican Guard'

LD1611000191 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1700 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] An emergency session of the Supreme Soviet of North Ossetia was held in Vladikavkaz today, and the issue of the situation in the republic was on the agenda. Our correspondent Irina Gukayeva reports.

[Begin recording] [Gukayeva] Tension in North Ossetia is increasing. On 13 November, the North Ossetian Ministry of Internal Affairs received a report from law enforcement bodies in Kabardino-Balkaria that unidentified criminals had violently attacked the driver of a Zhiguli and driven away in the stolen car. Anatoliy Kodzat and Aleksandr Kanevets, officers at the State Automobile Inspectorate road patrol service of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the North Ossetian SSR, found the car. During the arrest, both militiamen were killed and a third, Valeriy Kubiyev, was badly injured. The bandits were arrested.

We realize that a criminal does not have a nationality; however, the fact that the killers turned out to be Ingushetians, in light of the background of the aggravated relations with the neighboring Chechen-Ingush Republic, caused a reaction among the population of North Ossetia.

The Ingush part of the population of Checheno-Ingushetia is demanding a territorial rehabilitation at the expense of Prigorodnyy Rayon in North Ossetia, the part on the right bank of the town of Vladikavkaz. It must be

noted that North Ossetia is the smallest republic in size in Russia. Besides Ossetians, Russians, Armenians, Ingushetians, Georgians, Kumyks, Jews, and Tatars, well, representatives of more than 100 nationalities live on its territory.

One must be aware that problems connected with the implementation of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] law on the rehabilitation of repressed peoples go beyond the framework of Ossetian-Ingush relations, and very often they are interpreted in exactly this way. The decision by the Ingush population to go on a peaceful march to villages in Prigorodnyy Rayon in North Ossetia on 16 November is aggravating the tension in North Ossetia. Therefore, as was noted at the session, the threat to the security of the peoples of North Ossetia and to the territorial integrity of the republic is becoming more real. After the session finished its work, we interviewed (Yuriy Grigoryevich Beragov), first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet of North Ossetia.

[(Beragov)] We have been receiving proposals to create a national guard for a long time already. We thought that there was no need for this and expected the established Russian structures and, at one time, union structures to defend the population of the republic against any encroachments. Unfortunately, events of the past few days have weakened our belief considerably. We, therefore, were forced—practically the entire population of the republic approached us with this issue—to hold this session today and to resolve issues of forming a republican guard. We believe that the structure formed—the republican guard—should be part of the Russian National Guard, which is being formed. We consider it right that the question is being posed in such a way because we can see that the protection of the people's peace and order can be carried out by our hands only. [end recording]

Curfew Introduced

OW1611023991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2059 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Thursday [14 November], the minister of Internal Affairs of Northern Ossetia, Police General-Mayor Georgiy Kantemirov, ordered the introduction of a curfew from midnight to 6 am in eastern parts of the suburban region. Commenting on this order, the deputy minister of internal affairs for Northern Ossetia, Police Colonel Soslan Sikoyev, said that the curfew was installed due to the possibly explosive situation on the border with Chechen-Ingush.

Ingush Nationals 'Expected' To Attack Territory

LD1611033791 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0200 GMT 16 Nov 91

[Text] Quoting official sources in Vladikavkaz, an INTERFAX correspondent reports that an attack by Ingush nationals on North Ossetia is expected on 16 November. The correspondent notes that, with the backing of the Executive Committee of People's Deputies of Ingushetia, they plan to annex the right bank section of Vladikavkaz and Prigorodnyy Rayon of North Ossetia by force. These areas were inhabited by Ingush nationals until 1944 when Stalin's regime deported the Ingush population on the baseless charge of collaborating with the Nazis.

An extraordinary meeting of the North Ossetian Supreme Soviet, held on Friday [15 November], approved the establishment of a republican self-defense committee and a national guard. The 13-man self-defense committee will be headed by Akhsarbek Galazov, chairman of the North Ossetian Supreme Soviet. At a news conference held the same day in Vladikavkaz Galazov, chairman of the North Ossetian parliament, revealed that according to state security organs the recent hijacking of an airliner to Turkey by Chechens was staged in order to supply Ingush guerrillas with weapons. According to the INTERFAX correspondent, it has also been learned that the North Ossetian leadership has been in touch with Russian President Boris Yeltsin and USSR Internal Affairs Minister Viktor Barannikov.

Ingush Aide Denies Plan

PM1811161791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Nov 91 Union Edition p 2

["Direct Line" report by Ali Kazikhanov: "Showdown by Force of Arms"]

[Text] Nazran—"We did not plan any march on Prigorodnyy Rayon on 16 November. It is a lie concocted by our partyocracy in order to aggravate the situation"—this statement was made to your IZVESTIYA correspondent by Khadzhimurad Kastoyev, chief of the press center of the executive committee of all levels of people's deputies in Ingushetia.

As is known, tension in relations between the two republics increased further two weeks ago when a rally began in Nazran, demanding that the Ingush should return to the territory of Prigorodnyy Rayon that was taken away from them in 1944. After issuing the statement on the 16 November march to seize lands in North Ossetia that once belonged to the Ingush, there was an extraordinary session of the republic Supreme Soviet, at which a self-defense committee was set up and the formation of a republic national guard, part of the Russian guard, was announced. In Nazran too they started setting up an Ingush guard, which, I was told by the leaders of the executive committee of all levels of people's deputies, is also part of the Russian guard.

The sides' determination to use weapons in the fight for territory creates enormous problems not only for the White House leaders, who are promising to look into the situation, but also for the advocates of a peaceful solution of the problem both in Vladikavkaz and in Nazran.

A North Ossetia delegation, acting within the framework of people's diplomacy, received assurances from Chechen Republic President D. Dudayev that he would make every effort to find a peaceful solution to the conflict. During the meeting General Dudayev put forward a proposal on the need to hold a conference in the very near future of all of the peoples of the Caucasus in settling Kazbegi, which will discuss all the conflict issues. Colonel M. Merzhuyev, chief of staff of the Chechen Republic operational forces directorate, told me of his solidarity with the Ingush and support for them by every possible means.

North Ossetian Leader Comments on Situation

PM1811165591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Nov 91 p 1

[Interview with A.Kh. Galazov, chairman of the North Ossetian Supreme Soviet, by correspondent A. Grachev in Vladikavkaz on 17 November under the "From Scene of Event" rubric: "Rely on Russia, But Arm Yourself?"]

[Text] Yesterday an extraordinary session of the North Ossetian Supreme Soviet adopted a resolution "On the Creation of a Republic Guard and a Self-Defense Committee." I asked A.Kh. Galazov, chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet, to comment on this crucial step.

[Galazov] We were forced into this because of numerous requests from residents, labor collectives, and soviets at all levels. People are tired of the constant threats from our esteemed neighbors—the Ingush. For several days now they have been holding a thousands-strong rally in the city of Nazran at which statements are being made about a peaceful march to the Prigorodnyy Rayon of North Ossetia and the city of Vladikavkaz. Our citizens are being exposed to danger, and not just private but also state property is being plundered. The tasks of the national guard and the self-defense detachments are to defend the republic's sovereignty and the integrity of its territory and to protect the multinational population from encroachments by destructive forces.

The crime situation has been very sharply exacerbated with the appearance of tens of thousands of refugees from South Ossetia. In short, the Ossetian nation has been put in a very difficult position as a result of the policy pursued by Z. Gamsakhurdia, and now refugees are appearing from our own Prigorodnyy Rayon because of threats from other neighbors. We created the guard and self-defense detachments precisely in order to prevent spontaneous formations.

Our guard and the self-defense detachments are a constituent part of the Russian national guard. They will operate jointly with the militia.

[Grachev] In general, rely on Russia, but arm yourself?

[Galazov] I have spoken with the Russian president by phone and said that if what Ingushetia has conceived of is realized, this will mark the start of a civil war not only in the Caucasus but also in Russia. I have also spoken on the phone with Dunayev, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic minister of internal affairs, and sent a coded telegram to Barannikov, USSR minister of internal affairs.

[Grachev] What was their reply?

[Galazov] They recommended holding out and resolving all questions only by peaceful political methods.

Minister Reviews Situation

LD1911124891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1125 GMT 19 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz, 19 Nov (TASS)—The rally in Nazran, attended by many thousands of representatives of the Ingush nationality demanding that the territory of the Prigorodnyy Rayon of North Ossetia and the right-bank section of Vladikavkaz be returned to them, is already into its second week. Participants in the meeting assert that these territories belonged to the Ingush people prior to their deportation from the Caucasus in 1944.

"The North Ossetia leadership," republican Internal Affairs Minister Affairs Georgiy Kantemirov told a TASS correspondent, "has done and is still doing everything possible to resolve the conflict between the two peoples peacefully. We have appealed many times to the leadership of Checheno-Ingushetia, the Ingush people, and the leaders of the Russian Federation to tackle all conflicts on the basis of consent."

"It seems," the minister pointed out, "that the Ingush side is ignoring our good intentions. Moreover, armed persons of the Ingush nationality have recently been visiting homes in the villages of the Prigorodnyy Rayon where the emergency situation was introduced, demanding that the Ossetian population be deported. They have been blockading roads and interfering with agricultural work."

In the words of Georgiy Kantemirov, the crime rate in the area has taken a sharp turn for the worse. Two days ago two officers in the North Ossetian militia were brutally killed on the outskirts of Tarskoye village, where there is an important water intake system. The attackers took their standard issue weapons and left. There was another tragedy at the village of Elkhotovo when two officials of the North Ossetian Ministry of Internal Affairs were killed and another seriously injured while detaining two dangerous bandits. The killers were of Ingush nationality.

In the minister's opinion, Ingush extremists are trying to aggravate the situation on the border between North Ossetia and Checheno-Ingushetia and cause the two peoples to clash.

Georgiy Kantemirov said that the republican leadership is keeping the Russian president and the USSR and

Russian internal affairs ministers continuously informed about the situation in the region. At the same time, he recalled, the North Ossetian leadership has enlisted the support of people's deputies and working people of the multiethnic republic. It has decided to set up a state committee for self-defense and a republican guard as part of the Russian National Guard. The tasks of the National Guard and of self- defense detachments will be to defend the sovereignty of the republic and the integrity of its territory and to protect the population from the encroachments and threats of destructive forces.

Sakhalin Governor on Stopping Transshipments

OW1911042091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2104 GMT 18 Nov 91

[From "Soviet Business Report" transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Mr. Valentin Fyodorov, the governor of Sakhalin, insisted that the USSR Ministry of Railways and the Ministry of Far Eastern Rail Transport desist from the practice of using the Island of Sakhalin as a transshipment point for export freight His argument is that the Vanino-Kholmsk Ferry, connecting Sakhalin with the mainland, cannot otherwise cope with the volume of freight needed for the island itself.

Prosecutor Opposes Sobchak Judiciary Proposal

PM1811151791 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 15 Nov 91 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Prosecutor's Protest"]

[Text] St. Petersburg—St. Petersburg Prosecutor Dmitriy Verevkin has protested against the innovations of the city's mayor, Anatoliy Sobchak, who recently ordered the unification of the executive and the judiciary under his jurisdiction.

When approving the structure and staffing of the city hall judiciary committee, the city head included in the committee's composition the city, rayon, and arbitration courts and the local college of lawyers. This caused indignation among lawyers. After all, this violates the principle of the separation of powers—one of the main attributes of a rule-of-law state.

"It turns out, for example, that if this protest is rejected, then according to the law we should appeal to the court; that is, to the city hall judiciary committee," was how Deputy Prosecutor Vladimir Moroz commented on the situation to your TASS correspondent.

It is noteworthy that the "attempt" against the independence of the court took place against the background of Sobchak's struggle against the St. Petersburg City Soviet for the right to control municipal property and not fulfill the instructions of deputies.

Stavropol Region Restricts Food Exports

LD1811222991 Moscow TASS in English 1455 GMT 18 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Nikolay Styazhkin]

[Text] Stavropol November 18 TASS—Stavropol region has imposed restrictions on foodstuff exports in an effort to saturate the local market and feed its residents. Local authorities have imposed high export duties on grain, meat, milk, butter, eggs, fruits, wine and vodka.

Tatarstan Nationalists Want Independence

OW1811194691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1838 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On November 17 Marat Mulyukov, president of the all-Union Tatar Public Centre, and Fausia Bairaoova, chairwoman of the Ittifak, the Tatar Party for National Independence, called on their supporters at a rally in Kazan to invigorate efforts to make Tatarstan a fully independent state. The speakers said the Chechen Republic was an example Tatarstan should follow. The Chechen Republic's representatives had arrived in Kazan.

The rally organizers said that the republic's nationalistic organisations planned to hold the rally during the session of the Supreme Soviet of Tatarstan that had been suspended because of unrest in the city in October. On the agenda of the session opening on November 25 is republican independence and a number of economic bills.

On the same day the members of the two parties picketed the building of the office of Tatarstan's procurator. The office is currently considering several cases connected with inciting national strife.

Transbaykal Railroad Workers Issue Warning

PM1811145191 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 16 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Railroad Workers Warn President"]

[Text] ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA has received an open letter to the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] president, signed by the head of the Transbaykal Railroad and the chairman of Railroad Transport Workers Union Railroad Committee. It claims that 113,000 Transbaykal railroad workers are worried that the republic's structures of state authority are not resolving questions pertaining to the activity of railroad transport.

At the same time, RSFSR Council of Ministers Resolution No. 558 "On Organizing Material and Technical Supplies" did not even find room for railroad transport as the main carrier and did not define its role in

stabilizing the country's economy. The Russian president's appeal to the people proclaims that restrictions on wage increases are lifted and prices unfrozen. Prices are already being liberalized.

In taking steps to provide working people, members of their families, and pensioners with social protection the railroad ended up with a huge budget deficit for the first time in its history. It has no chance of providing railroad workers with further protection. Executive committees at local level have introduced rationed consumption of essential foodstuffs: bread—350 grams [g], vegetable oil—5 g, meat—33 g a day, etc., and that is in the Transbaykal region with its harsh natural climatic conditions.

It is therefore necessary to allocate rations of essential foodstuffs from reserve stocks that do not degrade man's dignity. In order to provide real social protection tariffs for direct freight shipments must also be raised by at least a factor of six.

The situation is explosive. Strike committees are being set up at the railroad's enterprises. Failure to meet these demands may cause traffic stoppages, economic paralysis, and a breach of interstate contractual relations with countries in the Asia-Pacific region.

Belorussia

Land Distribution Decision Adopted

PM1811141191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Nov 91 Union Edition p 1

[Unattributed report from the "IZVESTIYA, TASS, RIA, INTERFAX" roundup]

[Text] The Council of Ministers of the Republic of Belarus [Belorussia] has adopted a decision to provide plots of land by 1 March 1992 for all citizens in the republic who want one.

Where people live is not relevant. The size of the plot will depend on its usage—farmers may receive 50 hectares of land, proprietors of personal subsidiary farms may receive up to a hectare, while dacha owners may receive up to 10 hectares.

Moldova

Government Adopts Decree on Hiring Contracts

LD1611045391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1605 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Kishinev, 14 Nov (TASS)—The government of the Republic of Moldova adopted a decision "on hiring the heads of state enterprises, institutions, and organizations." According to the document, the government makes it incumbent upon all ministries and departments as well as bodies of local self-government to conclude hiring contracts with heads of enterprises and organizations before the end of this year. It is thought that with the help of a hiring procedure the government will able to break relations with heads of works and factories whom they do not like. This affects, first and foremost, heads of enterprises which formerly belonged to Union ministries and departments. As was already reported, all these enterprises are placed under Moldova's jurisdiction by the decree issued by President Mircea Snegur.

Introduction of Romanian Meets Difficulties

OW1611163791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1448 GMT 16 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The process of introducing the Romanian language as the official one in Moldova has come up against some problems. This is true of all spheres, particularly the legal papers. The conclusion was made by the republic's Prosecutor's Office in monitoring the implementation of law on languages in Moldova. The reason is found in the government's failure to assist and finance the teaching of Romanian.

Popular Front Organizes Kishinev Rally

AU1811212891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1949 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 18/11/1991—Sunday [17 November] 5,000 representatives of the People's Front took part in a meeting in Chisinau [Kishinev] to discuss the actions the opposition intends to organize between December 1 and 8, MOLDOVA PRES reports. The chairman of the People's Front executive informed about the visit a delegation of that organization intends to pay to Bucharest to request Romania's leadership the recognition of the right to citizenship of the Romanians in the territories the USSR occupied in 1940.

The participants in the meeting voted for the backing of the request for the recognition of Romanian citizenship to all the inhabitants of the Romanian territories occupied.

Advisor Comments on Ukrainian Vote

OW1811134591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1115 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Ion Borshevic, chief adviser to the president of Moldova, has said over Moldovan radio that the planned referendum on Ukrainian independence will have nothing to do with North Bukovina or South Bessarabia, two territories that he said "were adjoined to the Ukraine as a result of a Stalin-Khrushchev conspiracy."

Mr. Borshevic warned that the majority of local Romanians would not take part in the referendum.

Ukraine

Ministry Reviews Creation of National Guard

OW1911130791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1217 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The problems of forming the Ukrainian National Guard were discussed on Monday [18 November] in Kiev at a meeting of officers belonging to the Ukrainian Interior Ministry. Those present stressed that the forming of the National Guard answers to the interests of the Ukrainian people and fully conforms to the Constitution.

As it was pointed out for the first time, despite the fact that the new units will be formed on the basis of Interior Ministry troops, their functions will be somewhat different.

"Initially, that is in the near future, the number of guardsmen will be confined to 10,000 persons," the chairman of the parliamentary Commission for Defence and Security Vasiliy Durdinets, who attended the meeting, told IF's [INTERFAX's] correspondent.

"Next year we are planning to bring the number of guardsmen to 15,000 persons, and later on depending on the circumstances," he said.

National Guard units will be beyond ideology, and their members will be forbidden to belong to any party or political movement. Uniforms have already begun to be designed. Lvov's Institute of Applied Arts presented several samples.

Another Call-Up to Active Military Service

LD1911072391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2152 GMT 18 Nov 91

["Television News Service" report by correspondent P. Savchak]

[Text] In executing the decision of the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers on the latest call-up of citizens to active military service, a special commission of the Lvov executive committee finally decided that recruits from the Lvov region would carry out their service only in units and formations based in the Ukraine. It was stipulated that otherwise the call-up would be suspended and the draftees recalled. True, people here are very worried that the new recruits cannot at the moment take the military oath of loyalty to the independent Ukrainian state, since the republican Supreme Soviet has still not approved the appropriate legal documents. At the same time, the call-up is proceeding to the republican National Guard, but according to special requirements. Greek Catholic and Orthodox priests, heads of enterprises, and loved ones and relatives say their farewells to the new recruits.

Black Sea Fleet Chief Views Fleet's Status

PM1811113391 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

[By Captain Second Rank V. Pasyakin: "Admiral I. Kasatonov on Fleet's Fate"]

[Text] Sevastopol—At a news conference held by Admiral I. Kasatonov, commander of the Black Sea Fleet, he was asked, "How do you see the new status of the Black Sea Fleet—who does it belong to now, will it be a Union, Russian, or Ukrainian fleet?"

"I have the impression," Admiral I. Kasatonov replied, "that it would be convenient for some people to misinterpret particular questions and to fuel the tense situation. If we are speaking of its status, then the fleet is an all-Union structure and category. We are subordinate to the USSR defense minister and the Navy commander in chief. It is the right of any sovereign state to have its own armed forces. There is the Ukraine's statement on the formation of its own army and its own navy. There are also some opinions that the Black Sea Fleet is a Ukrainian fleet. Here I note that the Ukrainian leadership and Ukrainian Defense Minister Colonel General K. Morozov are, I would say, behaving tactfully. There is no haste on their part in resolving defense tasks.

"In Kiev," the admiral continued, "I met with L. Kravchuk. It was my initiative and that of the fleet military council. We had a serious talk. L. Kravchuk explained that the Ukraine does not lay claim to the Black Sea Fleet and its entire structure but wants to have its own navy, even if it is only a small one."

Costs of Planned Army Examined

PM1811130791 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Nov 91 p 2

[A. Kraynyy "Provincial-Military Diary": "The Politicians Can Only Divide It Up, It Is for the Taxpayers To Increase It"]

[Text] When the Ukraine announced its intention to create a 450,000-strong army, I shuddered, to be frank. After all, by then the republics' defense ministers had been to Moscow and had already seemingly agreed on unified Armed Forces. Then came this statement...

Time passed, leaders continued to make statements, each one superseding the previous one, and then, at the 4 November State Council session the high contracting parties reached agreement: The Armed Forces will remain unified and guards will be set up in the republics, based on the internal troops. God forbid that this decision be reconsidered again.

But I still have this desire to calculate what it would cost the Ukraine, say, to have forces numbering 450,000 men.

When I asked the the Ground Forces Main Staff how much just one of the three Ukrainian districts costs the state (and it was out of them that the republic was planning to create its army), they merely shrugged their shoulders: We do not know. No one has ever calculated it apparently. All the districts' expenditure is distributed under various headings. For instance, the cost of servicemen's upkeep is known by one Defense Ministry directorate, while the cost of combat equipment is known by quite a different one. So my worst suspicions were confirmed: The sum describing expenditure on the Army was a random figure, or the information was possessed by too small a circle of people for one to be able to expect objectivity and a desire to cut expenditure, which is a millstone around the neck of the state.

But I did manage to find something out. In the first place, 450,000 is more than the Kiev, Odessa, and Carpathian Military Districts put together. Second, the Kiev District is equipped with 2,025 tanks and 2,500 infantry fighting vehicles and armored personnel carriers, the Odessa District with 400 and 1,900 respectively, and the Carpathian District with 2,600 tanks and around 3,000 fighting vehicles. This entire armada has been put through the sieve of the Treaty on the Reduction of Conventional Forces in Europe, so it can be

concluded that this quantity of combat equipment corresponds both to our and to American notions of defensive doctrine and of the principle of reasonable sufficiency. Obviously, if the Ukraine has its own army it will have no reason to reduce this equipment either.

But how much does it cost? A type T-72 or T-80 tank costs 1.5 million rubles [R], a BMP-2 [infantry fighting vehicle] costs R257,000, and an armored personnel carrier costs R157,000. I will let the reader have the pleasure of multiplying the unit cost by the number of vehicles, but I would point out that these are not market prices.

Needless to say, of course, combat equipment has to be fueled and overhauled. And people have to be able to drive it, just as people have to be able to fire artillery pieces and machine guns. We are talking about a real army, not toy soldiers.

So the troops have to be trained. That costs money. How much? Well, for example, a company tactical exercise will cost you R36,000 in all. A battalion exercise will be R134,000. Training for a regiment will cost R1.2 million and for a division nearly R6 million. So, in a year (at this fall's prices), a division will cost—I am talking about exercises alone—R10 million and an army will cost R30 million. There is more than one army in a district, to put it mildly; there are three districts in the Ukraine, and, put together, they come to less than the stated 450,000. Again I will let the reader have the pleasure of doing the sum.

Moreover, the troops have to train not on the plowed fields of the "40 Years Without a Harvest" kolkhoz, but at specially equipped training centers. The cost of the training facilities in Kiev District, for example, is R110 million, and R4.5 million per year is needed to keep them in working order. In the Carpathian District the figures are R112 million and R2.5 million, and in Odesssa District R62 million and R2.7 million.

Certainly one could set up a single interdistrict training center, but that would cost a packet too.

For clarity's sake, I will tell you what an army comparable to that planned for the Ukraine costs. France, which has 461,000 servicemen, has spent $48 billion on the army in 1991. Germany, with a Bundeswehr of 494,000 men, shelled out $36 billion last year, and this year—inflation!—$48 billion.

Creating your own army is a simple matter. You just have to nationalize the forces on the territory of the republic. But you have to feed and water and clothe and shoe and train them. Not only the men, but the officers as well. Incidentally, the equipment has to be produced, preferably up-to-date equipment; so the scientific research has to be done. There is no end of things to be done.

Perhaps at some later date we will be able to afford not only republic guards, but armies as well? But if you start dividing up the "invincible and legendary" right now, instead of one big Red Army you will have many small ones. Although not very small armies.

Poll Shows 73.3 Percent Back Kravchuk

PM1911114591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Nov 91 p 2

[By correspondent N. Mironov: "Puzzle With Seven Known Quantities"]

[Text] Dnepropetrovsk—The nearer the Ukrainian presidential election gets, the more energetically the seven remaining contenders behave, trying to win over as many voters as possible to their side. Newspapers are also reflecting the heat of passions, publishing increasingly frequent public opinion polls on this subject. Nor is the specially created service under the executive committees lagging behind them.

Dnepropetrovsk Oblast Soviet deputies recently familiarized themselves with one of the polls. Asked whether, in their opinion, the Ukraine should remain in the USSR, 79.2 percent replied in the affirmative. Some 20.6 percent said no, it should not. Asked which of the Ukrainian presidential candidates known to them is preferable, 73.3 percent of respondents named L. Kravchuk.

These figures, a sociological group claims, have hardly changed since the March poll. However, they conflict greatly with the data received from other Ukrainian oblasts. Moreover, sometimes poll results vary greatly according to the wording.

Zaporozhye May Oppose Independence Vote

PM1811150791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Nov 91 Union Edition p 2

["Direct Line" report by Viktor Filippov: "Rukh Has Doubts, Canadians Agitate"]

[Text] Zaporozhye—The leaders of the regional Rukh [Ukrainian People's Movement for Restructuring] organization voiced doubts at a news conference that the majority of the oblast's inhabitants will support the act proclaiming Ukrainian independence at the 1 December referendum.

I confess that I was surprised by these doubts: Indeed, according to the data of the republic sociology institute, Ukrainian independence is supported by two-thirds of the respondents in its eastern oblasts. However, the people from Rukh have their reasons. Having toured Zarporozhye Rayon centers and villages, the activists came to the conclusion that "imperial thinking" is still strong here, because many of those who were contacted want to see an independent Ukraine only as part of a Union with other similar states.

Rukh's concern about the referendum is shared by the Aktiv Voli [Free Will Aktiv] organization, set up by Ukrainians resident in Canada and the United States.

Envoys from this organization are currently working in Zaporozhye, Donetsk, Dnepropetrovsk, and Lugansk, encouraging the local populace to support the act of Ukrainian independence. The Aktiv Voli members brought with them printing equipment and paper and they are printing leaflets. "This is the way we show our love of the Ukraine," Canadian resident Stepan Gorlach [name as transliterated] explained these dubious actions—dubious, that is, from the viewpoint of international law.

Supreme Soviet Adopts Criminal Code Law

LD1711082891 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1630 GMT 16 Nov 91

["TV Inform" newscast report by correspondent G. Klimov, including recorded remarks by E.A. Krivko, chairman of Yuryevskiy Rayon executive committee]

[Text] The Ukraine Supreme Soviet has adopted a law and addenda to its criminal code that will protect the territorial integrity of the republic.

[Klimov] Plans for the revival of the Donetsk-Krivoy Rog republic—it existed for several months in 1918—are met with a firm rebuke in both the east of the Ukraine and in its capital. The process of separation and revision of borders at another level, at the level of a rayon or even a collective farm, is gathering momentum.

A new rayon, Yuryevskiy, has been split off from Pavlogradskiy Rayon in Dnepropetrovsk Oblast. The new premises of the rayon authorities are empty so far. Why is it that neither yesterday, nor tomorrow, but namely today the new rayon was set up?

[Krivko] Above all, it has been dictated by time. Probably people residing on the territory of Yuryevskiy Rayon are fed up with waiting for something to be done in the social sphere.

[Klimov] Here, residents of Petrikovka are rallying in favor of their sovereignty and want the status of a rayon center to be restored. More than 20,000 signatures have been collected. A session of the oblast soviet has adopted a decision on setting up Petrikovskiy Rayon. At the same time, information was made public that the upkeep of relevant structures in a single rayon requires 1.5 million rubles annually, and there is nowhere to take them from. This problem is also dictated by time.

Transcarpathia 'Indivisible Part' of Republic

PM1811115191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Nov 91 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "The Transcarpathian Region Is an Indivisible Part of the Ukraine"]

[Text] The Ukraine is a sovereign state and its territory is indivisible, Vasiliy Durdinets, chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Standing Committee for Defense and State Security Questions, has stated. He is heading a Ukrainian parliamentary delegation that is visiting the CSFR with the aim of studying the experience needed for creating a national republic army.

In a RUDE PRAVO interview published Thursday [7 November] he rejected comments by representatives of certain right-wing forces of the Czechoslovak political system about the need to review the CSFR's eastern borders. The Transcarpathian region is an indivisible part of the Ukraine, Durdinets pointed out. Any attempts to proclaim the sovereignty of this part of the republic or annex it to a foreign state are contrary to international legal norms and are a gross interference in the Ukraine's internal affairs.

In order to stop possible attacks by extremists that could destabilize the situation, the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet has adopted a law on criminal liability for activities which jeopardize the republic's territorial integrity. "Border questions must be resolved by democratic legal means and not by means of force. The inhabitants of the Transcarpathia region consider themselves citizens of the Ukrainian state," Durdinets stressed.

Resettlement of Crimean Tatars Under Way

LD1911015691 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1630 GMT 18 Nov 91

[From the "TV Inform" program]

[Text] (?Lenton Bezaziyev) has been appointed deputy prime minister of the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. Thus, for the first time in almost half a century, a Crimean Tartar representative has become a member of the government in his homeland. Bezaziyev is committee head for the affairs of the deported people of Crimea. He believes his main task is to solve the problems that hamper their return. As a result of the Union's disintegration, he says, there is nobody to deal with financing and material provision for the resettlement of Crimean Tartars. There is a hope now for help from the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet and Cabinet of Ministers. Supreme Soviet Chairman Leonid Kravchuk has stated this. Only 15 million rubles, however, have been allocated for the next year. According to estimates examined by the ministries of Ukraine and the former Union, 800 million are needed. How is this gap to be closed? Possibly, the help will come from Uzbekistan and other republics from where Crimean Tartars are returning, leaving behind them their houses, jobs, schools, nursery schools, and hospitals.

Prime Minister on Printing National Currency

PM1811141591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Nov 91 First Edition p 3

[Correspondent Colonel A. Polyakov report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Still We Will Have Our Own Money..."]

[Text] Kiev, 14 Nov—Admittedly would like a cheaper way to produce our own money. Ukrainian Prime Minister V. Fokin declared at a news conference that the national bank has requested his consent to the allocation of a large amount of currency to pay a Canadian firm for printing Ukrainian money in Canada. Fokin accused certain leaders of the republic of "an impracticable approach to resolving such agreements," as there are Italian firms that are prepared to construct a securities factory in the Ukraine as an act of charity.

Touching on criticism of the Ukraine's supposed unobligingness in food deliveries to Russia, the prime minister said that 25 percent less sugar and vegetable oil will be produced in the republic than last year, but it will honestly fulfill its pledges, "even depriving itself."

Republic Prepares For Space Expedition

PM1811143391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Nov 91 Union Edition p 1

[Unattributed report from the "IZVESTIYA, TASS, RIA, INTERFAX" roundup]

[Text] The Ukraine is preparing its own space expedition. As Supreme Soviet Chairman L. Kravchuk reported at a meeting with voters in Zaporozhye, a national crew should take off next summer. It will conduct scientific research in the interests of the sovereign Ukraine.

Interrepublic Affairs

Further on Armenian-Azerbaijani Talks

Deadline Set for Gas Deliveries

LD1811183591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1720 GMT 18 Nov 91

[By ARMENPRES-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Yerevan, 18 Nov [ARMENPRES-TASS]—Armenia has demanded the immediate resumption of supplies of gas to the republic as a condition for the continuation of the dialogue with Azerbaijan. This was stated during the talks held on Sunday [17 November] in the Azerbaijani town of Kazakh between the representatives of Armenia and Azerbaijan with the participation of observers from Russia and Kazakhstan.

As you know, the gas pipeline from Russia, running through Azerbaijan, has already been sealed off for two weeks now. Today, at the session of the Supreme Soviet of Armenia, Babken Araktsyan, first deputy chairman of the republic's parliament and head of the Armenian delegation at the talks, reported that "it has been proposed to the Azerbaijani side that the issue of resumption of the gas supply should be resolved before midnight on 19 November without any preliminary conditions." "Only if this is the case will the further quest for compromises be possible," he stressed.

Currently, Armenia is using small reserves of gas from underground storage tanks for the needs of the population. Industrial enterprises are not operating. According to a report in the republic's Council of Ministers, fuel from the new gas pipeline which has been laid across Georgia will not be able to reach Armenia until the beginning of December.

Further on Document Clauses

LD1811234491 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1500 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] Babken Araktsyan, first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet, informed the session of the Supreme Soviet of Armenia of the routine meeting between the plenipotentiary delegations of Armenia and Azerbaijan, which took place on Sunday [17 November] in the Azerbaijan town of Kazakh. In his words, in the protocol signed on the results of the meeting, the sides instructed the leaders of frontier rayons of the two republics to examine and decide the question of resuming, by 2400 Moscow time of 19 November, the operation of the gas pipelines supplying Armenia. The document also provides for the examination of questions concerning a cease-fire, the regulation of air communications in the frontier rayons of Armenia and Azerbaijan, and information activity about the events in the region, Araktsyan said.

Information Exchange Discussed

NC1611070291 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 14 Nov 91

[By Ashot Dzhazoyan in Moscow]

[Text] The consultative meeting dedicated to carrying out information exchange continued on 13 November at the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet as part of the process of negotiations between the Armenian and Azerbaijani republics.

In the morning, the conferees discussed the draft treaty submitted by the Armenian delegation entitled: "On Cooperation on Press and Information Between the Armenian and Azerbaijani Republics."

The conferees signed a communique that envisages the periodic exchange of information between ARMENPRES and AZERINFORM as of 1 December 1991. It is very important that the communique, which is to be submitted to the plenipotentiary delegations of Armenia and Azerbaijan, not only notes the need for information exchange between the republics but also the need to organize permanent television broadcasts from Armenia and Russia in Nagorno-Karabakh.

Thus ended the two-day meeting held in Moscow between the representatives of Russia, Kazakhstan, Armenia, and Azerbaijan. Two documents came out of that meeting:

1. The bylaws for the Russian and Kazakh information group, which is empowered to prepare official information on events in the conflict zone.

2. The consultative meeting's communique, which envisages cooperation between the two republics in the information sphere.

These documents, which will be presented to the quadripartite meeting in Zangelan, were signed by RSFSR Deputy Vladimir Podoprigora, chairman of RSFSR's Interrepublican Relations Committee, on behalf of Russia; Murat Rayev, the deputy chairman of Kazakhstan Supreme Soviet, on behalf of Kazakhstan; Samvel Shahmuradyan, a member of the Armenian Supreme Soviet Standing Commission on Press and Information Affairs, on behalf of Armenia; and Rasim Agayev, a people's deputy at the Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet, on behalf of Azerbaijan.

After the meeting, the heads of the Azerbaijani and Armenian delegations assessed the results of the two-day talks.

Rasim Agayev said: "I believe the course and outcome of the talks as a positive contribution towards the restoration of the ties between the two republics. The Moscow talks confirmed the view that it is possible to find a way out of the impasse even under the most extreme situations. The idea of cooperation in the information sphere

found in the signed draft agreement would make it possible to restore the exchange of information, periodic publications, and television broadcasts."

Samvel Shahmuradyan said: "In general I assess our talks as positive. The talks were not easy, but the outcome is palpable. Two documents are going to be presented to the plenipotentiary delegations and to the Russian and Kazakh observers. Time will tell how viable and applicable these decisions are. I would claim that an important work has been done only when actual information exchange starts between Armenia and Azerbaijan and when the Armenians of Nagorno-Karabakh freely obtain the Armenian publications and Armenian television broadcasts in keeping with this draft agreement."

Talks Concluded

OW1811174791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1613 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Last Sunday [17 November], Armenia and Azerbaijan ended the third round of talks on ways of settling the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh and in the border regions. The talks were held not far from Azerbaijan's regional centre of Kazakh and were attended by observers from the Russian Federation and Kazakhstan.

The protocol signed at the end of the talks says, among other things, that the sides instructed the leaders of Azerbaijan's Kazakh region and of Armenia's Idzhevan and Noemberyan regions to work in conjunction with official representatives of the governments of these republics, and, by 2400, November 19, to consider and resolve the entire complex of problems connected with ensuring security of the population living in these regions and with the termination of gas supplies to Armenia.

The sides also agreed that official coverage of the events in the zone of conflict would be provided by an information group which will consist of representatives of the Russian Federation and Kazakhstan. They also accepted for consideration draft agreements on ceasefire and the withdrawal of armed formations from the zone of conflict, and on the normalization of the transportation routes between the republics.

Agreement was reached on the dates for exchanging the lists of people reported to be hostages or missing, and on holding talks on this problem between representatives of the two republics' procurator's offices.

The next round of talks will be held on November 22, again in Azerbaijan's Kazakh region.

Buffer Zone Plan Debated

PM1511130391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Nov 91 Union Edition p 1,2

[Correspondent S. Bablumyan report followed by G. Alimov commentary: "Dialogue Is Impossible Under a Hail of Bullets"]

[Text] [Bablumyan] Yerevan—The meeting in Moscow between the country's top leaders, Armenia, and Azerbaijan did not produce the expected results. The talks aimed to reach agreement on lifting the energy blockade imposed on Armenia by Azerbaijan. Moreover, the Armenian side believes that unacceptable terms laid down by Azerbaijan at the meeting and supported by USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev knowingly condemned the efforts to failure.

Babken Ararktsyan, first deputy chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet, evaluated the position taken by Mikhail Gorbachev and Ayaz Mutalibov as an attempt at strong-arm pressure.

So what caused the differences of opinion that prevented the document under discussion from being signed? The Armenian leadership objects in principle to a proposal to establish along the entire Armenian-Azerbaijan border a 10-kilometer buffer zone controlled by internal forces and Defense Ministry subdivisions while leaving the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast border and Shamayanovskiy Rayon in Azerbaijan without any such cover. In such a case, the Armenian side believes that the safety of the population of Nagorno-Karabakh will not be guaranteed.

Grant Bagratyan, acting prime minister of Armenia, declared that the next stumbling block was the attempt by the Azerbaijan leadership to link the question of lifting the blockade on the main gas pipeline with the fulfillment by the Armenian side of a whole range of preconditions. "We consider such an approach unacceptable, and we will accept no ultimatums," Gran Bagratyan declared, noting at the same time that Armenia is prepared to hold further talks with Azerbaijan and to work toward mutually acceptable solutions. However, the energy blockade should be lifted without delay, and it cannot become a means for achieving political ends.

The document submitted for signing in Moscow is evaluated by the Armenian leadership as an alternative to the Zheleznovodsk communique and is aimed at torpedoing the agreements achieved in Zheleznovodsk.

[Alimov begins] The idea of setting up a 10-kilometer zone on the Armenian-Azerbaijan border was in fact examined in the past—it is nothing new. But for various reasons, its realization has been sabotaged for the last three years. As we can see, it is unnacceptable to the Armenian side. Although, in principle, it is after all impossible to hold normal dialogue to the sound of explosions and gunfire. At the same time, the buffer zone

would allow for one central problem to be resolved. It would deprive the opposing sides of the chance to shoot each other. The creation of a 10-kilometer zone would create a reliable barrier, a limit beyond which no shots could be fired.

Therefore, the position adopted by the Armenian side can be explained, according to many specialists, merely by political considerations. The situation should not be "fomented," particularly by sowing suspicions that the USSR president is party to some kind of plot or secret maneuvers. In respect of him, close presidential circles believe this would simply be unjust. Likewise, nothing good can come of "open clashes" between Presidents Gorbachev, Yeltsin, and Nazarbayev. It seems that the USSR president is least of all interested in torpedoing the Zheleznovodsk agreements and whipping up tension.

On the second question—the demand to lift the blockade on the gas pipeline—those same sources believe that Armenia's position is absolutely just. Indeed, it cannot be considered acceptable to conduct a dialogue "under preconditions." The language of ultimatums has no place in contacts between sovereign republics. If the sides aspire to civilized relations, there can be no blockade. The Azerbaijan side asserts that gas supplies to Armenia have not been halted as a whim. A section of the gas pipeline is damaged. It was confirmed that, because of the actions of Armenian gunmen, the local population (in Kazakhskiy Rayon) will not grant construction and repair workers access to the damaged section...

So as yet politicians are exchanging political blows which, as before, turn into grief and bloodshed for both peoples.

Armenia

President Meets Bush, Asks for Recognition

PM1911110591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Nov 91 Union Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "Ter-Petrosyan Fails To Win Recognition of Armenian Independence. Bush Adopts Cautious Position at Talks"]

[Text] Armenian President L. Ter-Petrosyan, who is in the United States, has met in the White House with President G. Bush. Answering journalists' questions after the meeting, Ter-Petrosyan reported that he had "openly and definitely" asked Bush to recognize Armenian independence.

As he put it, Bush did not state specifically that the United States was prepared to recognize Armenia, but he "said that he recognizes the normal processes currently taking place in the former Soviet republics, including Armenia, and that the United States is prepared to support and assist all such processes that proceed legally and constitutionally." The U.S. Administration is currently taking a cautious stance on this problem in the belief that the Soviet republics should formulate their own new relations first and expect international recognition later. "I believe," Ter-Petrosyan added, "that the current visit will lay the foundations for strong cooperation between Armenia and the United States."

The Armenian president reported that, during a discussion on the problem of Western aid to the USSR, he told President Bush that such aid should not be given to the center but directly to the republics. I am totally convinced, he said, that Western aid via the center will be used by the center for political purposes. I do not believe that the center—whatever shape it may take in the future—is capable of guaranteeing the fair distribution of aid.

Touching on efforts to work out a new political agreement between the republics, Ter-Petrosyan stated: "The new Union treaty is under discussion at Novo-Ogarevo. I was invited to the session. I believe that President Gorbachev is repeating the past mistake of the Novo-Ogarevo process. Raising the question of political union at this time will not be of any use. The republics have hardly started formulating economic agreements, and we must give this economic community a chance. Raising the question of political union can only harm the formation of an economic community. I see Gorbachev's current efforts as merely an attempt to vie with President Yeltsin in coming up with initiatives on the future of the Union."

At a briefing U.S. presidential Press Secretary Fitzwater replied as follows to a question about the possibility of U.S. recognition of Armenian independence: "The republics are in the process of working out new agreements between each other. We consider it premature to settle the issue of recognizing the independence of republics like Armenia while this process continues. Our relations with the republics will be based on the principles outlined by Secretary of State Baker 4 September. These principles are peaceful self-determination, respect for borders, democracy, and human rights, and adherence to international commitments."

Talks Focus on Center, Republics

LD1511125391 Moscow TASS in English 1135 GMT 15 Nov 91

[By correspondent Andrey Fedyashin]

[Text] Washington November 15 TASS—Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan was unable to get an immediate recognition of his republic's independence by the United States. However, he believes this is merely a matter of time. Ter-Petrosyan, who was received by President Bush at the White House on Thursday [14 November], said after it was over that "the Soviet Union can no longer exist as a single state". He added that Armenia's independence was not only the result of the

Armenian people's expressed will, but also due to "an objective process linked with the deteriorating situation in the USSR".

Ter-Petrosyan came to the United States at the invitation of Robert Dole, leader of the Senate Republican minority. The planned 30-minute meeting with the U.S. President lasted for about 50 minutes. It was attended by U.S. Vice-President Dan Quayle, White House Chief of Staff John Sununu, and Armenian Foreign Minister Raffi Ovannesyan.

According to Ter-Petrosyan, the U.S. President did not say definitely that the United States was prepared to recognise Armenia, but stressed that he recognised the normal processes now under way in the former republics of the USSR, including Armenia, and that the United States was ready to recognise all such processes if they proceed "lawfully and constitutionally". The U.S. Administration is now cautious in this respect, believing that the republics of the USSR should first legalise their new relationships and then expect international recognition.

"Problems of relationships between the centre and the republics" Ter-Petrosyan said, "were the focus of our talk." Ter-Petrosyan also said he told the U.S. President, during the discussion of Western aid to the former USSR, that such assistance should be coordinated and granted not through the centre, but directly to the republics "This refers primarily to food aid and technical assistance," he noted. "I am absolutely sure and I told President Bush about it, that Western aid through the centre would be used by the latter as a political instrument. I don't believe the centre, no matter what it will be like in the future, is able to guarantee an even distribution of such aid."

According to Ter-Petrosyan, President Bush favours "balanced aid".

"A new Union treaty is today being discussed in Novo-Ogarevo," Ter-Petrosyan said. "I was invited to that meeting. I believe President Gorbachev is repeating the previous blunder committed in the Novo-Ogarevo process. The raising of the political union issue will yield nothing at present. Today the republics have merely approached an economic accord and we must give this economic community a chance to materialise. The raising of the political union problem may only harm the creation of an economic community. I believe Gorbachev's present actions are merely an attempt to compete with President Yeltsin in advancing various initiatives concerning a future Union."

Comments on Role of Center

LD1611212991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 16 Nov 91

["TV Inform" newscast report by B. Kalyagin on Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan's visit to the United States, including recorded remarks by Ter-Petrosyan in Washington; date not given]

[Text] U.S. President George Bush has received Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan in the White House. Questions of cooperation were discussed. The Armenian leader came out in favor of American aid to the Soviet Union going not to the center but directly to the republics, to Armenia in particular. However, as George Bush noted, the United States will adhere to a balanced approach, developing relations both with the Union as a whole and with the individual republics. The head of the U.S. Adminstration promised Armenia support in carrying out economic and political reforms. The United States plans to open a consulate in Yerevan next year and to send representatives of its Peace Corps to Armenia.

[Ter-Petrosyan] As far as the present role of the center is concerned, the center so far is retaining a certain role as a stabilizing factor, a factor making these processes peaceful, legitimate, and, most important, a factor which also guarantees the unity of the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union. This concerns the world most of all.

President Meets Canada's Prime Minister

LD1711055291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0145 GMT 16 Nov 91

[By correspondent Valentin Vasilets]

[Text] Ottawa, 16 Nov (TASS)—Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan paid a brief visit to Canada on 15 November after visiting Washington at the invitation of the local Armenian community. The five hours spent here were tightly packed with numerous official and unofficial meetings. The working day was completed with an almost hour-long conversation with Prime Minister Brian Mulroney which took place in his cabinet in the parliament building. Commenting on this meeting in a conversation with the TASS correspondent, the Armenian president said: "On the whole it passed off in the same spirit as the conversation with the U.S. President the day before. We discussed the same problems here—problems of the establishment of bilateral relations between Canada and Armenia." For the time being, economic ties are being discussed, L. Ter-Petrosyan clarified. Diplomatic relations "can be discussed only after the recognition of Armenia's independence." This matter is also being examined. As the Armenian president stressed, neither Bush nor Mulroney "had any legal arguments against the recognition of our independence." Political considerations are standing in the way of doing this. "But I think that these are temporary difficulties."

According to L. Ter-Petrosyan, both sides have reached agreement to return to this issue after the referendum on independence in Ukraine on 1 Decmeber when much will become clearer in Canada's stand in the area concerned. The president also noted that the question of food aid to Armenia had also been raised. As you known, he continued, a program for Canadian aid to the Soviet

Union exists. "Here we discussed the question of sending the aid directly to the republics and not through the center." As L. Ter-Petrosyan said, "We have every reason to think that the center, as before, may use this aid for political purposes." Replying to the question as regards Canada's reaction, the president said: "The answer we were given is that this is a serious problem and that a formula should be sought under which it would be possible to maintain the balance between the center and the republics."

President Receives Iranian Delegation

NC1811212791 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1600 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan received on 18 November a delegation from the Foreign Ministry of the Islamic Republic of Iran lead by Bagram Khasebi, chief of the Department of Eastern European Countries and USSR Republics.

Ter-Petrosyan noted that though this is the first high-level visit by Iranian diplomats to Armenia, practical contacts have been carried out, adding that it is obvious that the interest shown by Iranian authorities in Armenia springs from the rich tradition of centuries-long friendship and cooperation.

President Ter-Petrosyan noted that the broadening of economic, trade, cultural, and other ties between Armenia and Iran would create stable conditions for activating future political relations.

At the request of the Iranian delegation, Ter-Petrosyan discussed the tension existing in Armenian-Azerbaijani relations, stressing that the conflict does not emanate from religious differences and that the problem in Nagorno-Karabakh is protecting local Armenians' civil rights.

President Ter-Petrosyan also briefly recounted the results of his latest visits to the U.S. and Canada.

Expressing thanks for the warm reception and exhaustive briefing, Khasebi conveyed the congratulations and good wishes of Iranian President Hashemi-Rafsanjani to Ter-Petrosyan on the occasion of his election as president of Armenia and handed him a message from Iranian Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati.

Khasebi then discussed the issue of establishing relations with Armenia. He said steps have already been taken in the economic sphere. The delegation's aim is to get first-hand information on the situation in Armenia and then formulate a program future that would enable the development of relations with Armenia in various fields. The head of the delegation expressed thanks for the opportunity accorded them to get acquainted with issues of interest to them.

The hope was expressed that such meetings will be held frequently in the future and will lay the foundation for long-term, stable, and mutually advantageous cooperation.

Arman Navasardyan, Armenian deputy foreign minister, and other officials were present at the meeting.

Economic Pacts Signed With Central Asian States

NC1611070091 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] Yerevan, 15 Nov (ARMENPRES)—Armenia has signed documents on interrepublican supplies for 1992 with Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan. Agreements on economic, scientific-technical, and cultural cooperation were the basis of the agreements.

The volume of exchange of industrial, technical, and consumer goods will not be less than 1990, and efforts are being made to increase the volume. In line with these trade-economic agreements, the Central Asian republics will send cotton, wool, fiber, and fabrics to Armenia. In return, Armenia will export light, food, chemical, and electrical industry products; lathes; and "YERAZ" cars.

Talks will start soon with Turkmenistan to import 6.5 billion cubic meters of gas next year. The creation of joint ventures was also discussed in Tajikistan and Uzbekistan.

Cooperation agreements were also signed between the food industry, light industry, and trade ministries and between the agricultural enterprises.

Parliament Denies Nationalizing Army Weapons

PM1811114391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Nov 91 Union Edition p 2

[By S. Bablumyan: "Necessary Clarification"]

[Text] The Armenian Supreme Soviet press service has sent the IZVESTIYA correspondents' center in Yerevan the text of a statement clarifying one of the points in a commentary by the newspaper's military correspondent in the feature "The Soviet Army: Republics Leave the Ranks."

It says: "A commentary by N. Burbyga in issue 269 of your newspaper contains a statement to the effect that Armenia, like certain other republics in the former USSR, has allegedly 'taken steps' to nationalize the weapons of Soviet Army units stationed on its territory. Neither the parliament nor the government of the Armenian Republic has taken such 'steps' as of today."

As Major General Yuriy Tverdokhlebov, chief of staff of the Seventh Army, which is deployed on Armenian territory, told your IZVESTIYA correspondent, the suppositions on the nationalization of the weapons belonging to the Army and its other property are completely unfounded.

Official Describes Energy Blockade as 'Tragic'

LD1611073191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] Arkadiy Ter-Israelyan, deputy chairman of the Armenian State Committee for Economy, described as tragic the situation that has been created in Armenia because of the energy blockade of the republic. He held a briefing at the Committee for the Operative Management of the USSR's National Economy which was devoted to the cut-off of the gas supply. He recalled that a gas pipeline supplying fuel from Russia to Armenia was closed on the territory of Azerbaijan on 4 November. As in this republic natural gas meets up to 80 percent of its energy requirements, a critical situation has emerged here. Now we can only pray to God that the usual frosts will not come to Armenia, Arkadiy Ter-Izraelyan said. He stated that there is a necessity to adopt tough economic measures with respect to Azerbaijan and was sceptical about the possibility of solving the problem by way of talks even if Russia and Kazakhstan mediate. Arkadiy Ter-Izraelyan said that issues of possible fuel deliveries to Armenia from Iran and Turkey are being worked on, but these are issues of the future, and today we speak about our survival.

Azerbaijan

Debate on Economic Union Treaty Postponed

OW1611041291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1140 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Thursday's [14 November] session of Azerbaijan's Supreme Soviet postponed debating the republic's attitude to the Treaty on Economic Community. Following a heated debate on the economic situation in Azerbaijan, reports an INTERFAX correspondent, it was decided to listen first to President Ayaz Mutalibov and Prime Minister Hasan Hasanov and consider their economic conception.

Some of the deputies warned that while the crisis in the economy is snowballing, the republic's cabinet has still failed to present to parliament its conception of economic development for next year towards a market economy.

Calls were made to reconsider the republic's position towards the Treaty on Economic Community which earlier the Azerbajiani parliament had refused to join.

But deputies of the Democratic bloc gave support to the earlier decision pointing out that the crisis in the republic's industry could not be linked solely with Azerbaijan's refusal to sign the treaty.

At the evening session Deputy Iskender Hamidov informed parliament that Cyprus had recognized Azerbaijan's independence and that similar decisions were expected from Pakistan and some Arab countries.

A tentative date was set for a referendum on Azerbaijan's independence—December 29, 1991.

Further Reportage on NKAO Situation

Internal Troops Chief Comments

LD1611223491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1306 GMT 15 Nov 91

[By correspondent Vadim Byrkin]

[Text] Stepanakert, 15 Nov (TASS)—"I am convinced that the conflict will die down if the Armenian community and the Azerbaijani Government take the appropriate steps. Continuous talks are required, as is communication at all levels." Lieutenant General Savin, commander of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs troops, told a TASS correspondent during an interview. He was in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], together with observers from Russia and Kazakhstan who are fulfilling the role of intermediaries.

"Today it is necessary to take all armed formations out of the region—both the special purpose militia detachments and the fighters. There is an agreement by both sides on this, only these conditions must be fulfilled," the general stressed.

In his opinion the USSR Internal Ministry troops need to step up their monitoring of the observation of the agreement. When a statement is issued to the effect that both sides have completed the withdrawal of armed formations and heavy artillery, we will fight against the uncontrolled formations, Vasiliy Savin said. It is possible that in individual cases tough measures will need to be taken. If we are to act consistently then there are insufficient forces in NKAO. The question of increasing their numbers could be raised, the commander noted.

Hostage Swaps Continue

LD1811215391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1740 GMT 18 Nov 91

[By correspondent Vadim Byrkin]

[Text] Stepanakert, 18 Nov (TASS)—More than 20 people are being held hostage by both sides in Nagorno-Karabakh, but positive moves to release them are being made.

Six people were swapped last week in Gadrutskiy Rayon. On 16 November, thanks to the efforts of the general procurator of Azerbaijan, a woman and two young children taken hostage by Azerbaijanis were set free without a swap. Today, the Armenians released two Azerbaijani women seized during armed clashes in Gadrutskiy Rayon.

The senior assistant of the Azerbaijani Republic's general procurator, Shukyar Rzayev, abducted on 14 November in Stepanakert, remains a hostage. According to a report by the KARABAKH News Agency, the abductors have presented to the law enforcement bodies of Nagorno-Karabakh a list of Armenians whose release they are demanding in exchange for Sh. Rzayev.

Georgia

'Heavy Fire' Reported in South Ossetia

LD1811162491 Moscow TASS in English 1538 GMT 18 Nov 91

[By correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz November 18 TASS—The situation in South Ossetia has aggravated again. According to the press centre of the autonomous region's information committee, heavy fire was opened again last night on populated localities in the crisis zones.

The southern and northern suburbs of Tskhinvali were subjected to particularly heavy fire. Georgian combatants used large-calibre machine-guns, mine-throwers, anti-hail "Alazan" systems and heavy artillery pieces during the assaults. Ten dwelling houses were destroyed and several public services damaged. Seven men were wounded. The Ossetian side was compelled to retaliate.

Fire was also opened last night on control posts of USSR Interior Troops and the helicopter regiment's barracks in the suburbs of Tskhinvali.

The Georgian side claims that fire was opened on populated localities outside the state of emergency zone not only by Ossetian self-defence detachments, deployed in the suburbs of Tskhinvali, but also by the USSR Interior Troops. However, the military command denies these claims. The troops have no orders to intervene in the armed conflict.

Georgians continue ruthless actions against the peaceful population of Ossetian villages in Tskhinvali and Znauri districts. They capture hostages, set fire to dwelling houses, seize private property, farm products and cattle. The whereabouts of 40 Ossetians from the villages of Dmenisi, Kekhvi and Tamarasheni, captured by the Georgians, are still unknown. The Ossetian side also holds about 30 Georgian hostages.

Tskhinvali is badly in need of food products due to the blockade of the roads leading to the town. All the shops are closed. The local bakery has run out of flour. No difficult operations are being performed in the regional hospital due to the lack of medicines, surgical equipment and conserved blood. The sick and the wounded have to be taken to Vladikavkaz.

Interior Ministry Denies Firing on Villages

LD1811155491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1345 GMT 18 Nov 91

[By correspondent Vladimir Gondusov]

[Text] Moscow, 18 Nov (TASS)—"There can be no talk of fire from mortars or rocket launchers, since we have neither of these weapons in our armory," a spokesman of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Main Directorate of the Commander of Internal Troops stated today when commenting at the request of the TASS correspondent on the protest by the Georgia Government circulated by the president's press service on 17 November.

The document says, in particular, that on 15 November "subunits of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, together with Ossetian guerrillas, over seven hours brought to bear on Georgian villages intensive" mortar and rocket launcher fire.

The spokesman of the Main Directorate noted that weapons are brought into play only in the event of a clear threat to the life of the civilian population or of the soldiers themselves.

At the same time, fire is brought constantly to bear by the Georgian side, including with the use of guns and artillery, upon subunits of the troops in Tskhinvali.

The Main Directorate of the Commander of Internal Troops links the protest by the government of Georgia to a certain extent to the fact that the leadership of the republic is trying to "nationalize" the arms and equipment of units of the internal troops deployed in Georgia. "Possibly, it is precisely because of these circumstances that passions are being whipped up around the internal troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs which are in the region, including by disinforming the population," the spokesman of the internal troops said.

Republic Denies Sending Missiles to Chechen

LD1811172291 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1630 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] The press service of the Georgian president has refuted the statement by Aleksandr Rutskoy, the vice president of Russia, made on 13 November at a news conference in Moscow that production of medium-range missiles had been organized in Georgia and that they were being supplied to the Chechen Republic. The press service stated that neither the factories nor the relevant materials and technology exist in Georgia for the manufacture of such weapons.

President Rules Out Move to Market Economy

OW1811023791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2221 GMT 17 Nov 91

[From the "Business Report" feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdiya has ruled out a move to market relations as long as the economy remains in a state of disintegration. On national television last Friday [15 November], he announced that "all market innovations would lead to the robbery of common people and the enrichment of the corrupt." President Gamsakhurdiya reported that he plans to urge the republic's parliament to pass legislation prohibiting the activities of commercial stores and cooperatives.

National Security State Department Created

AU1811100791 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0510 GMT 17 Nov 91

[Decree of the president of the Republic of Georgia on the creation of the Republic of Georgia State Department for National Security issued in Tbilisi—date not given]

[Text] To abolish the Republic of Georgia Committee for State Security and to create on its basis the Republic of Georgia State Department for National Security.

To place the Republic of Georgia State Department for National Security under the direct control of the president of the Republic of Georgia.

[Signed] Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of the Republic of Georgia

Chairman Appointed

AU1811101091 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0510 GMT 17 Nov 91

[Text] Here is another decree issued by the president of the Republic of Georgia:

To appoint Tamaz Vakhtang Dze [son of Vakhtang] Ninua as acting chairman of the Republic of Georgia State Department for National Security.

[Signed] Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of the Republic of Georgia

Kazakhstan

President Nazarbayev's Activities Reported

Outlines Future of Semipalatinsk Site

LD1911020591 Alma-Ata Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 1600 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Excerpt] Comrade Nazarbayev has started the second stage of his election tour. This time he is visiting a number of eastern and northern oblasts of the republic. On 10 November, the president arrived in the city of Kurchatov, where there was a meeting with the voters in the garrison house of officers. To a large extent, thanks to the insistence and purposefulness of Comrade Nazarbayev, some months ago the Semipalatinsk nuclear test site was closed down. Now the eminent guest was faced with a difficult dialogue with the officers and members of their families. All of them are interested in the future fate of the city and the enormous scientific and technical potential accumulated there.

Comrade Nazarbayev accepted the frank tone of the conversation given by the representatives of the staff servicing the test site. Here the president stressed that the halt to the testing in no way means that he personally and the government of the republic do not care about the fate of the highly qualified specialists and the whole population of the city. Huge reserves of coal have been discovered directly on the territory of the test site. There will be a research center of republican-Union subordination working in Kurchatov; its area of activity is to be multifaceted and forward-looking, starting with research in the field of te. .ng atomic energy installations together with foreign states and ending with forecasting earthquakes. [passage omitted]

Addresses Voters in Alma-Ata

LD1611225391 Moscow TASS in English 1238 GMT 16 Nov 91

[By KAZTAG correspondent Gennadiy Kulagin]

[Text] Alma-Ata November 16 TASS— Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev addressed his electors in Alma-Ata on Friday [15 November] saying it is in the interest of the multinational population of Kazakhstan to join in the newly-formed union of sovereign states.

Nazarbayev is the only candidate for the presidency at the forthcoming elections which will be held on December 1. His nomination is supported by more than a million people in Kazakhstan.

Nazarbayev considers market economy, environmental protection, democratisation of political and state life, civil rights guarantees irrespective of one's nationality, to be his top priorities if he is elected president.

Meets Trade Union Representatives

LD1811215691 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1300 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] Nursultan Nazarbayev, president of Kazakhstan, had a meeting with the representatives of the republic's trade unions. The participants pointed out that they support the reforms that are under way in Kazakhstan. The president and the trade unions can work together, Nazarbayev stressed. The trade unions must assist in the privatization of property and increasing new economic resources. The president of Kazakhstan outlined his own vision of the ways out of the economic crisis. He spoke aginst parasitic attitudes and gave an account of the work on the new Union treaty.

Receives Australian Minister

LD1911014291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1620 GMT 18 Nov 91

[By KAZTAG correspondent Gennadiy Kulagin]

[Text] Alma-Ata, 18 Nov (TASS)—On 17 November, Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev received Gareth Evans, Australian minister of foreign affairs and trade, who has arrived on a short visit. During the conversation, issues were discussed regarding the development of bilateral cooperation in the spheres of economy, trade, science, technology, and culture. On behalf of his government the minister invited Nursultan Nazarbayev to visit Australia.

Kyrgyzstan

President Akayev's Land Fund Decree Appraised

PM1911113591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Nov 91 p 1

[Report by correspondent Yu. Razgulyayev: "Let The Land Feed Us"]

[Text] Bishkek—After a lot of talk about the land reform in Kyrgyzstan faltering and encountering strong local resistance, republic President A. Akayev has apparently switched to resolute action. He has issued a decree that envisages, to be blunt, tough and radical measures.

Credits and material assistance for loss-making and low-profitability farms have ceased entirely. They will all be eliminated before 1 February 1992 and their land will form part of a special land fund, on the basis of which peasant and individually owned farms will be created.

The "laid-back" kolkhozes, with a profitability of between 15 and 25 percent, will be turned into production cooperatives. We have to return, the decree says, to the type of peasant-owner labor organization with which their tragic history began. It is a very important fact that farmers wanting to leave the farm and become totally

independent will not now be dependent on a decision by the General Assembly. Their own wish to do so will suffice.

The plan is to create before 1 February next year a special land fund comprising at least 1.5 million hectares of underutilized and poor-quality land. To use this to provide plots of land for all city dwellers and rural inhabitabts who want them by this [as published] spring. In addition, a national land fund is being established "to develop peasant enterprise on the basis of Kyrgyz peasants' traditional forms of economic activity and everyday life." At least 50 percent of the irrigated arable land allocated for individually owned farms is earmarked for this purpose.

There are fears that people's reactions to this point could vary. Land, irrigated land at that, is an enormous resource, but is also extremely scarce. Particulary in the overpopulated valleys. Giving privileges to one particular group there could result in a certain amount of social tension.

But objectively speaking, one should admit that it is the Kyrgyz, the republic's indigenous nation, who are the least prepared for the assimilation of market arrangements. There have been objective reasons for this, not only associated with recent years. The fact remains: The native livestock raising workers are to a large extent separated from the best valley land.

If everything is left as it is, it will make conflicts all the more inevitable, particularly when it comes to the division of land. In fact, they are already occurring. The option chosen by the president of a national land fund is not the easiest option. But I think it does create a basis for accord. Of course, on condition that the government and the local soviets are as fair, wise, and benevolent as possible.

A couple more words about the "danger areas" in the decree. My feeling is that the president wants to give as much freedom as possible to the producer, give him full scope for initiative and creativity. But the realities of our tough transitional period demand that command levers of some kind remain. So there appeared in the decree on "peasant free will" points about the state order, which strike a somewhat discordant note. The state order covers grain, cotton, tobacco, wool, seeds, and a number of other types of products. And the state order is obligatory not only for the remaining kolkhozes and sovkhozes, but also for the majority of peasant farms and cooperatives.

I believe, though, that the argument will not be about the size of the state order. The decree stipulates that a farmer can sell his products, even state-order products, at any contract prices. But will the specialization of farms and entire regions that has existed for decades continue to exist? Will the free enterprise farmers want to grow grain, cotton or, for instance, cabbages, if seeds provide the biggest income at current prices? Will it be possible to provide city dwellers with at least the minimum range of essential products?

The republic paper SLOVO KYRGYZSTANA published the president's decree under the headline "Oh Land, Forgive Us Sinners...." Indeed, bitter resentment against people is the only possible explanation for the fact that the highly fertile soils of the valley of plenty are failing to feed those who cultivate them.

National Guards To Be Formed

OW1811195891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1838 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A statute on national guards has been drawn up in Kyrgyzstan. A member of the group which has prepared the draft, Col [Colonel] Jakshibek Nogoibayev, has told an IF [INTERFAX] correspondent that the guards will be subordinated to nobody but the president of the republic. He said President Askar Akayev would issue a decree on national guards within the next few days.

The overall numerical strength of the guards will not exceed 700. The commanders will be former army, Interior Ministry and KGB officers. The Kyrgyz Government hopes that the USSR Defence Ministry will provide weapons for the guards.

Col Nogoibayev stressed that, unlike similar formations in other sovereign republics, the national guards of Kyrgyzstan "will not be used for purposes Interior Ministry troops and OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] are normally used for."

The draft statute on national guards, as well as the formation of a defence committee for the republic, will be discussed by the Supreme Council of Kyrgyzstan on December 11.

Uzbekistan

Supreme Soviet Opens 18 Nov; Agenda Viewed

President Addresses Session

LD1811171491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0916 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] Tashkent, 18 Nov (UZTAG-TASS)—Twenty-six questions have been included in the agenda of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet session which opened today. Among the most important is discussion of the draft laws on the election of the president of the republic, destatization and privatization, leasing, the state flag and coat of arms of the Republic of Uzbekistan, and a number of others.

It is planned to ratify the treaties on the basic principles of interstate relations which Uzbekistan concluded recently with the Ukraine and Belorussia. The agreement on the principles of commercial and economic cooperation between the RSFSR and Uzbekistan for 1992 and on the communique on the results of the talks between the official delegations of these two republics also will be discussed.

President Islam Karimov delivered a report at the opening of the session.

Agenda Adopted, Treaties Ratified

OW1811134691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1115 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The 8th session of the Supreme Soviet of Uzbekistan that opened in Tashkent today has adopted a 29-item agenda. During the first 2 hours parliamentarians passed a law on the republic's flag, ratified Uzbekistan's treaties and agreements with Russia, the Ukraine, Belorussia and Azerbaijan, and discussed the draft treaties of economic community and the Union of Sovereign States.

The Supreme Soviet has to consider a total of 11 bills, including on presidential elections, privatization and denationalization, lease practices, and the social protection of the disabled.

MPs [members of parliament] will have to discuss the parliamentary powers of Shovruk Ruzimuradov, convicted with the parliament's consent for 3 years in prison for involvement in protest rallies in the Kashkadarya region following last spring's price hikes.

Erkin Vakhidov, head of the committee on openness, will make a report on the tracing of sources of misinformation about a recent series of court hearings in Uzbekistan.

Opposition Demonstrates

OW1811194891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1838 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Monday [18 November] around 200 activists of a number of Uzbek public organisations picketed the hotel Tashkent which accommodates most republican parliamentarians who come to the Tashkent capital to participate in a session of the republican parliament.

The picketers who represent Uzbekistan's popular movement named Birlik, the party Erk (Freedom), the Islamic Revival Party and the Union of Uzbekistan's Free Young People displayed banners demanding the resignation of the Uzbek President Islam Karimov because his election had allegedly been undemocratic and he is allegedly responsible for the current crisis in Uzbekistan. The picketers demanded that the Islamic Revival Party be unbanned and the property of the Uzbek Communist Party be nationalised.

Mr Nasrullo Saidov, a member of the opposition grouping named Initiative, was the only parliamentarian who went out to speak with the picketers. Eventually, the picketers were forced by an OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] police unit to leave the square.

Mr Saidov said that he would cover the picketers' demands in his address to the session and that he would demand an investigation into why and how the picketers were dispersed.

Deputies Want Immediate Presidential Elections

LD1511134691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1929 GMT 14 Nov 91

[By TASS-UZTAG correspondent Irina Grebenyuk]

[Text] Tashkent, 14 Nov (TASS)—A group of Uzbekistan deputies representing soviets of various levels have spoken in favor of an immediate general election for president of the republic. They sent an open letter to the committee of the republic's parliament for issues of legislation, legality, and law and order which proposes that presidential elections should be held as early as this year.

In the view of the deputies, this would allow the independence of the republic to be strengthened and it would be a decisive step toward the formation of a democratic, rule-of-law state. The letter states that the inhabitants of Uzbekistan have doubts about the way the republic's Supreme Soviet is dragging out the adoption of the law "On elections for president of the Republic of Uzbekistan." The second reading of the draft law is planned for the eighth session of the Supreme Soviet which is to open on Monday [18 November].

The authors of the letter are in favor of strengthening presidential authority. In their view, the well-being of every inhabitant of the republic depends on the effectiveness of this authority and on trust for the president personally.

PDP Registered; Karimov Elected Chairman

LD1811174691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1321 GMT 18 Nov 91

[By UZTAG-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Tashkent, 18 Nov (TASS)—The People's Democratic Party of Uzbekistan (PDP) [narodno-demokraticheskaya partiya uzbekistana]—successor of the republic's Communist Party—was registered today by the Uzbek Justice Ministry.

The party's constituent congress was held on 1 November. It adopted the new party's rules and program. The PDP is the first parliamentary-type party in Uzbekistan.

The PDP's program goals are to promote the establishment and development of a sovereign and independent Uzbekistan as a democratic state, where human rights will be scrupulously observed, to contribute to socioeconomic progress and to strengthen friendship with all countries and peoples.

Uzbek President Karimov was elected chairman of the party.